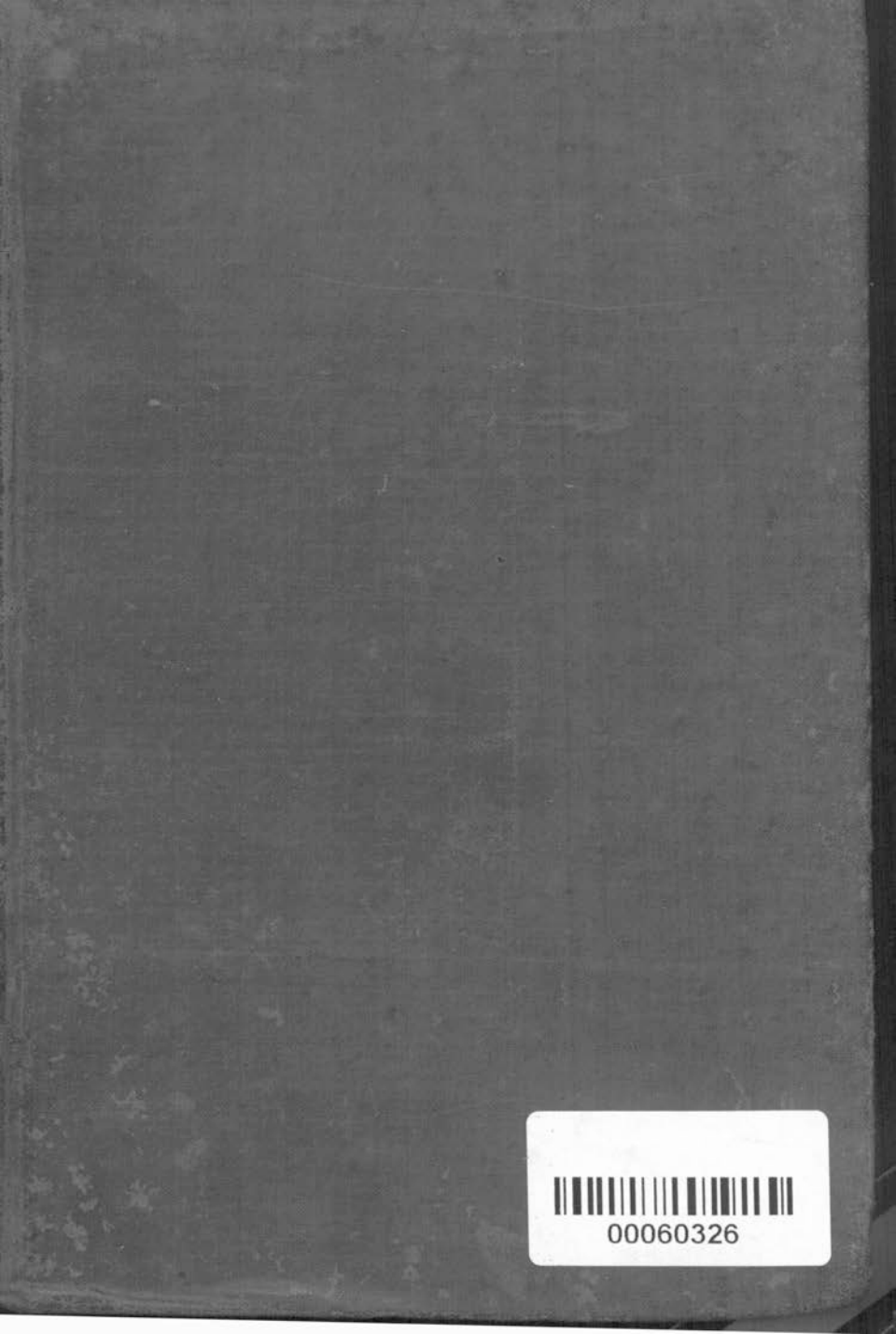
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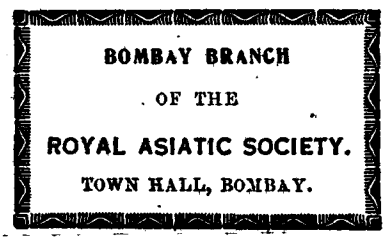


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# The Hakluyt Society.

THE

# HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF AFRICA

OF

# LEO AFRICANUS.

VOL. III.

No. XCIV.

# THE HISTORY

AND

# DESCRIPTION OF AFRICA

AND

*OF THE NOTABLE THINGS THEREIN CONTAINED,*

WRITTEN BY

AL-HASSAN IBN-MOHAMMED AL-WEZAZ AL-FASI,

A MOOR, BAPTISED AS GIOVANNI LEONE, BUT BETTER KNOWN AS

LEO AFRICANUS.

DONE INTO ENGLISH IN THE YEAR 1600,

BY

JOHN PORY,

60326

And now Edited, with an Introduction and Notes,

BY

DR. ROBERT BROWN.

IN THREE VOLUMES.—VOL. III.

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# IOHN LEO HIS FIFTH BOOKE OF the Historie of Africa, and *of the memorable things* contained therein.

*A description of the kingdomes of Bugia and Tunis.*

Hen as in the former part of this my historie I diuided Barbaria into certaine parts, I determined to write of Bugia as of a kingdome by it selfe: and I found indeed that not many yeeres ago it was a kingdome. For Bugia was subiect to the king of Tunis, and albeit for certaine yeeres the king of Telensin was Lord thereof, yet was it at length recouered againe by the king of Tunis, who committed the gouernment of the city vnto one of his sons, both for the tranquillitie of Bugia, and also that no discord might happen among his sonnes after his decease. He left behinde him three sonnes, the eldest whereof was called *Habdulhaziz*, and vnto him he bequeathed the kingdome of Bugia, as is aforesaide: vnto the second, whose name was *Hutmen*, he left the kingdome of Tunis: and the third called *Hammare*, he made gouernour of the region of dates. This *Hammare* began foorthwith to wage warre against his brother *Hutmen*, by whom being at length taken in the towne of Asfacos, &.

depriued of both his eies, he was carried captiue vnto Tunis, where he liued many yeeres blinde: but his brother *Hutmen* gouerned the kingdome of Tunis full fortie yeeres. The prince of Bugia being most louing and dutifull to his brother, raigned for many yeeres with great tranquilitie, till at length he was by king *Ferdinand* of Spaine, and by the meanes of one *Pedro de Nauarra*, cast out of his kingdome.[1]

### *A description of the great citie of Bugia.*

THis auncient citie of Bugia built (as some thinke) by the Romans, vpon the side of an high mountaine, neere vnto the Mediterran sea, is enuironed with walles of great height, and most stately in regard of their antiquitie. The part thereof now peopled containeth aboue eight thousand families: but if it were all replenished with buildings, it were capeable of more then fower and twentie thousand housholds, for it is of a great length. The houses, temples, and colleges of this citie are most sumptuously built. Professors of liberall sciences heere are great store, whereof some teach matters pertaining to the lawe, and others professe naturall Philosophie. Neither Monasteries, Innes, nor Hospitals erected after their manner are heere wanting: and their market place is very large and faire: their streetes either descend or ascend, which is verie troublesome to them that haue any busines in the towne. In that part of the citie next vnto the toppe of the mountaine standeth a strong castle, most sumptuously and beautifully walled: and there are such notable letters and pictures most artificially carued vpon the plaister-worke and timber, that they are thought to haue cost much more then the building of the wall it selfe.[2] The citizens were exceeding rich, and vsed with their warlike gallies continually to molest the coasts of Spaine; which was the occasion of the vtter ouerthrowe of their citie. For *Pedro de Nauarra*

was sent against them with a fleete of fowerteene sailes onely. The citizens being addicted whollie to pleasure and ease, and being terrified with the rumour of warre, bicause they were neuer exercised therein, were no sooner aduertised of *Pedro de Nauarra* his approch, but al of them togither with their king betooke themselues to flight, and left their citie abounding with all kinde of riches and wealth, to bee spoiled by the Spaniards, so that it was easily taken, in the yeere of *Mahomet* his Hegeira nine hundred and seuenteene.[8] Soone after *Pedro de Nauarra* hauing sacked the citie, built a strong forte vpon the sea shore, and repaired an other which had lien a long time waste, furnishing them both with soldiers and munition. And sixe yeeres after, *Barbarossa* the Turke being desirous to winne this citie from the Christians, and hauing leuied onely a thousand soldiers, tooke the old forte, bicause he was fauoured by the inhabitants of all the mountaines adiacent: wherein hauing placed a garrison, he attempted to winne the other fort also: but at his first encounter he lost an hundred of his principall Turkes, & fower hundred of the mountainers that came to aide him; insomuch that *Barbarossa* was enforced to flie vnto the castle of Gegel, as is aforesaid.

*The citie of Bugia taken by Pedro de Nauarra.*

### *Of the Castle of Gegel.*

THis ancient castle built by the Africans, vpon an high rocke by the Mediterran sea, is distant about threescore miles from Bugia. Families it containeth to the number of fiue hundred; and the buildings thereof are very base. The inhabitants are of a trustie and ingenuous disposition, and do most of them exercise husbandrie: howbeit their fieldes are but barren, and apt onely for barly, flaxe, and hempe. They haue great store of figs and nuts, which they vse to carrie in certaine barkes vnto Tunis. They haue in despight of the kings of Bugia

and Tunis continued alwaies free from tribute: for that impregnable mountaine can be surprised by no siege nor encounter of the enimie. At length they yeelded themselues vnto *Barbarossa*, who demaunded none other tribute of them, but onely the tenths of certaine fruits and corne.[4]

### *Of the towne of Mesila.*

MEsila founded by the Romans not far from the Numidian desert, and being distant from Bugia almost an hundred miles, hath stately wals about it, but base houses within. The inhabitants being partly artificers and partly husbandmen, goe very homely apparelled, and are most greeuously oppressed with the continuall exactions of the Arabians, and with the daily molestations of the king of Bugia. My selfe vpon a time trauelling this way, could not finde so much fodder as was sufficient for twelue horses onely.[5]

### *Of the towne of Stefe.*

THis towne also built by the Romans, sixtie miles southward of Bugia, vpon a certaine beautifull plaine, is enuironed with strong and stately walles. It was in times past exceedingly well stored with inhabitants: but since the Mahumetans were Lords thereof, it hath so decaied by the iniuries of the Arabians, who razed to the ground a great part of the wall, that within the whole circuit of this great and ancient towne, there are but an hundred houses at this present remaining.[6]

### *Of the towne of Necaus.*

THis towne built by the Romans neere vnto Numidia, and being distant from the Mediterran sea an hundred and eightie, and from the towne last mentioned eightie miles, is compassed with a strong and ancient wall. By this towne runneth a certaine riuer, on both sides

whereof grow the best wal-nuts and figs that are to be found in the whole kingdome of Tunis, being vsually carried to Constantina to be solde, which citie is thence distant an hundred and eightie miles. The fields of this towne are exceeding fruitfull, and the inhabitants are very rich, liberall, and curious in their apparell. Here is an hospitall maintained at the common charges of the towne, to entertaine strangers that passe by. Here is a college also, the students whereof are allowed their diet and apparell. Neither is this towne destitute of a most stately and well-furnished temple. Their women are white, hauing blacke haires and a most delicate skinne, because they frequent the bath-stoues so often. Most of their houses are but of one storie high, yet are they very decent, and haue each one a garden thereto belonging, replenished with damaske-roses, myrtles, cammomill, and other herbes and flowers, and being watred with most pleasant fountaines. In these gardens likewise there are most stately arbours and bowres, the coole shadow whereof in summer-time is most acceptable. And (to be briefe) all things here are so delightfull to the senses, and so alluring, that any man would be loth to depart from hence.[7]

### *Of the towne of Chollo.*

THe great towne of Chollo founded by the Romans, vpon the Mediterran sea, at the foot of a certaine high mountaine, is enuironed with no walles at all: for the walles were razed to the ground by the Goths: neither did the Mahumetans, when they had got possession, build them vp againe. Howbeit this towne is notably well gouerned, and well stored with inhabitants, which are all men of a liberall and tractable disposition. They haue continually great traffique with the merchants of Genoa, and doe gather abundance of waxe and hides. Their fieldes vpon the mountaine are exceeding fruitfull, and they haue

alwaies so defended themselues against the princes of Tunis and Constantina, that vntill this present they remaine free from tribute. From the iniurie of Constantina they are easily defended, both in regarde of the difficult mountaines lying in the mid-way, and also in respect of the great distance; for Constantina standeth almost an hundred and twentie miles off. Neither is there any citie throughout the whole kingdome of Tunis, either for wealth, or strong situation, any way comparable vnto this.[8]

*Of the towne of Sucaicada.*

THis ancient citie built by the Romans also vpon the Mediterran sea, and standing about thirtie fiue miles from Constantina, was wasted and almost vtterly destroied by the Goths: howbeit by reason of the hauen being so famous and so frequented by the merchants of Genoa, the prince of Constantina caused certaine faire houses to be built thereabouts, for the said merchants of Genoa, to repose themselues and their goodes therein: and vpon a mountaine not farre off he built a strong castle, for the securitie and defence of the said merchants from all enemies whatsoeuer. From the said hauen to Constantina the high way is paued with certaine black stones, such as are to be seene in some places of Italie, being there called *Le strade Romane*, which is a manifest argument, that Sucaicada was built by the Romans.[9]

*Of the citie of Constantina.*

NO man can denie the Romans to haue beene founders of this citie, that shall consider the great strength, height, and antiquitie of the walles, and how curiously they are beset and adorned with blacke stones.[10] This citie standeth vpon the south side of an exceeding high mountaine, and is enuironed with steepe rocks, vnder which rocks and within the compasse whereof runneth the riuer

called Susegmare,[11] so that the said deepe riuer with the rocks on either side, serueth in stead of a towne-ditch to Constantina. The north part is compassed with a wall of great thicknes: and there are two extreme narrow passages onely, to enter into the citie, one on the east part, and another on the west. The citie-gates are very large and stately. The citie it selfe containeth aboue eight thousand families. Buildings it hath very sumptuous, as namely, the chiefe temple, two colleges, three or fower monasteries, and other such like. Here euery trade and occupation hath a seuerall place assigned: and the inhabitants are right honest and valiant people. Here is likewise a great companie of merchants, whereof some sell cloth and wooll, others send oile and silke into Numidia, and the residue exchange linnen cloth and other wares for slaues and dates. Neither are dates so cheape in any region of all Barbarie besides. The kings of Tunis vsually commit the gouernment of Constantina vnto their eldest sonnes: and so he that is now king of Tunis bestowed Constantina vpon his eldest sonne in like sort: who waging warre against the Arabians was slaine in the first battel. Then fel the gouernment of Constantina vnto his second sonne, whose intemperate life was the cause of his sudden and vntimely death. After him succeeded the third and yoongest sonne, who in regarde of his insolent and shamelesse behauiour, was so hated of all the citizens, that some had determined to kill him: whereof his father hauing intelligence, sent for him, and kept him for certaine yeeres prisoner at Tunis. Afterward he committed the gouernment of Constantina to a certaine Renegado, that of a Christian became a Mahumetan: this Renegado he trusted as his owne brother, for he had made former triall of him: who for many yeeres gouerned the place with great tranquillitie.[12] Vpon the north part of the citie standeth a certaine strong castle built at the same time when the citie it selfe was built;

*The hard successe of the king of Tunis his three sonnes.*

which castle was more strongly fortified then before, by one *Elcaied Nabil* the kings lieutenant: and this castle greatly bridled both the citizens, and all the bordering Arabians, whose great captaine it held as prisoner, and released him not, till he had left his three sonnes for hostages. At length the said *Elcaied* grew so hautie, that he coined money, to the great contempt of his king and soueraigne, whom notwithstanding he endeuoured by many giftes and presents to appease. But when men perceiued *Elcaied* to degenerate from his first forme of gouernment, they that before loued him, and had him in high regarde, were presently of another minde, and vtterly forsooke him. So that laying siege vnto a certaine citie of Numidia called Pescara, he perceiued some treason to be attempted against him: and thereupon returning foorthwith to Constantina, he found the citie-gates shut against him: from whence he presently tooke his iourney to the king of Tunis, and was by him cast into prison, and not restored to libertie, till he had paid an hundred thousand duckats. Afterward by the kings aide he was restored to his former gouernment: but when he began to tyrannize ouer some of the chiefe citizens, he againe prouoked the whole citie vnto armes, who besieged foorthwith the castle whereunto he fled, which was such a corrasiue vnto *Elcaied* his minde, that within few daies he died for sorrow.[13] And so the people after they were reconciled to their king, would from thencefoorth neuer admit any forren gouernour: wherefore the king of Tunis was (as is aforesaid) againe constrained to send his owne sonnes thither. The fields belonging to this citie are exceeding fertil. And on either side the riuer which runneth through the plaines, there are most commodious gardens, if they were well husbanded. Also without the citie stand many faire and ancient buildings. About a mile and a halfe from the citie standeth a certaine triumphall arch, like vnto the triumphall arches at Rome,

which the grosse common people thinke to haue beene a castle where innumerable diuels remained, which (they say) were expelled by the Mahumetans, when they came first to inhabite Constantina.[14] From the citie to the riuer they descend by certaine staires hewen out of the rocke: and neere vnto the riuer standeth a little house so artificially cut out of the maine rocke, that the roofe, pillers, and walles are all of one continued substance, and here the women of Constantina wash their linnen. Neere vnto the citie likewise there is a certaine bath of hot water dispersing it selfe among the rocks: in this bath are great store of snailes, which the fond women of the citie call Diuels: and when any one falleth into a feuer or any other disease, they suppose the snailes to be the authors thereof.[15] And the onely remedie that they can apply vpon such an occasion is this: first they kill a white hen, putting her into a platter with her feathers on, and then verie solemnly with waxe candles they carry her to the bathe, and there leaue her: and many good fellowes there are, which so soone as the silly women haue set downe their hens at the bath, wil come secretly thither, and conuey away the hens to their owne kitchins. Somewhat farther from the citie eastward there is a fountaine of extreme cold water, and neere vnto it standeth a certaine building of marble adorned with sundrie Hieroglyphicall pictures or emblemes, such as I haue seene at Rome, and at many other places of Europe. But the common people imagine that it was in times past a Grãmar-schoole, & because both the masters and schollers thereof were most vitious, they were transformed (say they) into marble.[16] The inhabitants twise euerie yeere send great store of wares into Numidia: and because as they trauell, they are in danger of the Arabian theeues, they hire certaine Turkish Harquebusiers for great wages to guard them. The merchants of Constantina trauelling to Tunis pay no tribute at all, but onely at their departure

*Hot baths.*

*A fond and senseles superstition.*

foorth of Constantina for the worth of euerie 100. ducates in merchandise, they allow two ducates and a halfe.

### *Of the towne of Mela.*

THis towne built by the Romans within twelue miles of Constantina, and enuironed with most strong walles, containeth almost three thousand families: but at this present there are but few buildings by reason of the warres that haue happened. Here are great store of artizans: the most whereof are such weauers as make couerlets. In the market place there is a most cleere fountaine. The citizens are valiant, though they bee of rude behauiour. Here is abundance, not onely of fruits (whereupon some thinke the name of the towne to be deriued) but also of cattle and corne. Vnto this towne the gouernour of Constantina sendeth euery yeere a certaine Iudge, to decide the townesmens controuersies, and to receiue the yeerely tribute: howbeit oftentimes the said Iudge is slaine by the people.[17]

### *Of the ancient towne of Bona.*

THis towne built by the Romans vpon the Mediterran sea, almost 120. miles more to the west was in auncient times called Hippo, where the reuerend father Saint *Augustine* was once Bishop. It was in processe of time subdued by the Gothes, and was afterward surprised and burnt to ashes by *Hutmen* the third patriarke after *Mahumet.* And many yeeres after they built a new towne within two miles of the stones that were brought from the ruines of Bona: which new towne they called Beld Elhuneb, that is, the citie of the fruit called Ziziphus or Iuiuba, by reason of the great abundance of that fruit: the which they vse to dry in the sunne, and to keepe till winter.[18] It containeth almost three hundred families, and

*S. Augustine in times past bishop of Hippo.*

all the houses and buildings thereof are verie base, saue one onely temple which standeth next the sea. The inhabitants are all of an ingenuous disposition, some of them being merchants, and the residue artizans. Here is great store of linnen-cloath wouen, the greatest part whereof is carried to Numidia. The inhabitants of this towne hauing vpon a time slaine their gouernours, were so bold as to threaten the king of Tunis: and they had without all doubt betrayed the towne vnto the Christians, had not the king of Tunis taken speciall heed thereunto.[19] In this towne are certaine lewd people and most beggerly apparelled, which notwithstanding are highly reuerenced by the citizens. Here are no fountaines, nor yet any water at all, but rainewater onely which is kept in cesterns.[20] On the east side of the towne standeth a strong castle built by the king of Tunis, where the gouernour of the towne appointed by the king hath his aboad. Vnto this towne adioyneth a most large plaine, containing in length fortie, and in bredth fiue and twentie miles: verie commodious for corne, and is inhabited by certaine Arabians called Merdez: these Arabians haue great store of cattell and but little money; and they bring good store of butter dayly vnto Bona. Vnto this towne the people of Tunis, of the isle of Gerbi, and of Genoa vse yeerely to resort, and to buy great abundance of corne and butter. Euery friday they haue neere vnto the towne wals a market, which is well frequented euen till night. Not farre from hence there is a certaine place in the sea, abounding with great store of corall: and because the townesmen know not how to fish for the same, the king of Tunis licenced certaine merchants of Genoa to fish for it: who in regard of the continuall assaults of pirates, because they could not speed of their purpose, they obtained leaue also of the king to build a castle neere vnto the place: but that the townesmen would in no case permit, saying that the Genoueses in times

*Great store of corall.*

past tooke their towne by such a wile, and that it was afterward recouered againe by the king of Tunis.[21]

### *Of the towne of Tefas.*

THE towne of Tefas founded by the Africans vpon the side of a mountaine, and standing almost an hundred and fiftie miles southward of Bona, was in times past verie populous, and full of braue buildings, but it hath beene since destroyed by the Arabians. Afterward being replanted with new inhabitants, and remaining free from war for certaine moneths, it was the second time destroyed by the Arabians. Last of all (because it was a place commodious for corne) it was inhabited the third time by certaine Africans, called Haoara, and that by the ayde of a certaine prince brother vnto him, which had slaine *Enasir* the king of Tunis his sonne: but now all that remained of this towne was vtterly razed by the king of Tunis.[22]

### *Of the citie of Tebessa.*

THis great and strong citie built by the Romans neere vnto Numidia, and being distant two hundred miles southward from the Mediterran sea, is compassed with an high wall made of such stones as are to be seene vpon the Colosso at Rome: neither saw I, to my remembrance, any such wals in all Africa or Europe: and yet the houses and other buildings are verie base. Through part of this citie runneth a great riuer: and in the market, and diuers other places stand certaine marble pillers, hauing Epigrams and sentences with Latin letters engrauen vpon them: there are also other square pillers of marble couered with roofs. The plaines adiacent albeit verie drie, yet are they most fruitfull for corne. Fiue miles from hence grow such abundance of wall-nut-trees, as you would take them to be some thicke forrest. Neere vnto this towne standeth a certaine hill full of mighty caues, wherein the common

people say, that giants inhabited of olde: but it is most euident, that those caues were digged by the Romans at the same time when they built the citie: for certaine it is that the stones whereof the citie-walles consist, were taken out of those rockes. The inhabitants are people of a couetous, inhumane, and beastly disposition; neither will they vouchsafe to looke vpon a stranger: insomuch that *Eldabag* a famous Poet of the citie of Malaga, in Granada, hauing in his trauell this way receiued some discourtesie, wrote in disgrace of Tebessa certaine satyricall verses, which my selfe likewise haue thought good here to set downe in the dispraise thereof.

*Within this place here's nought of any worth,*
*Saue worthles nuts, which Tebessa affourds.*
*Soft, I mistake, the marble walles are worth*
*Your earnest view, so are the Christall-fourds:*
*But hence are banisht vertues all diuine,*
*The place is hell, the people woorse than swine.*

This *Eldabag* was a most learned and elegant Poet in the Arabian toong, and out of measure satyricall, and bitter in his inuectiues. But to returne to our former purpose, these Tebessians haue alwaies rebelled against the king of Tunis, and haue slaine all the gouernours that he hath sent. Wherefore the king that now is, trauelling vpon a time towards Numidia, sent certaine ambassadours into the city, to know how the citizens stood affected towards him: vnto whom they (instead of *God saue the King*) made answere: *God saue our Citie-walles.* Whereat the king waxing wroth, sacked the citie forthwith, beheaded and hanged diuers of the inhabitants, and made such hauock, that euer since it hath remained desolate. This was done in the yeere of the Hegeira 915.[28]

*Of the towne called Vrbs.*

BY the name of this towne it sufficiently appeareth that the Romans were the first founders thereof. Situate it is vpon the most beautifull plaine of al Africa, which by reason of the abundance of fountaines is so wel stored with corne, that from thence to Tunis (which standeth 190. miles northward of this place) and to other regions adioyning, great plentie of corne is transported. In this towne are to bee seene sundrie monuments of the Romans, as namely images of marble, and euerie where vpon the walles are sentences in Latin letters engrauen: the towne-walles are most artificially and sumptuously built. This towne the Gothes, being assisted by the Moores, surprised, when as it contained the chiefe treasure and wealth that the Romanes enioyed in all Africa. Afterward it remained for certaine yeeres desolate, being at length notwithstanding inhabited a new, yet so, that it deserueth rather the name of a village then of a towne. Not far from this towne runneth a certaine riuer, vpon the which are diuers water-milles; and this riuer taketh his beginning from a little hill but halfe a mile distant from the towne. All the inhabitants are either weauers or husbandmen, and are continually molested by the king of Tunis. Howbeit if the fertilitie of the soyle, the pleasantness of the place, and the holesome disposition of the aire, were as well knowne to the king, as they are to my selfe, I thinke verily that he would leaue Tunis, and goe and dwell in this region. The Arabians are well acquainted with the place, for from hence they yeerely transport great store of corne vnto their deserts.[24]

*Of the towne of Beggia.*

THis towne built by the Romans vpon a mountaine almost twentie miles distant from the Mediterran sea, and about eightie miles westward of Tunis, standeth

right in the way from Tunis to Constantina. But because the name of this towne is no Arabian name, it seemeth, that the first name hath been oftentimes corrupted and changed. The ancient walles of this towne are as yet standing, and it is a most defensible place, and well furnished with all kinde of necessaries. It is inhabited with great store of weauers and husbandmen, and the fields thereof are so large and fruitfull for all kindes of graine, that the people of the same region could not sufficiently manure them, vnlesse they were assisted by certaine bordering Arabians: and yet a great part of their fields lieth vntilled: howbeit they send continually great store of corne vnto Tunis. The king of Tunis surchargeth them with continuall and greeuous exactions, which is the cause why their estate so mightily decaieth.[25]

### *Of the towne called Hain Sammit.*

THis towne was in my time founded by the king of Tunis, being distant almost thirtie miles from Beggia. It was built (they say) of purpose, that none of the fields thereabout might lie vntilled. But it hath since beene destroied by the Arabians, at the commandement of the king of Tunis: and now there remaineth a tower and certaine other buildings onely, whereof some haue roofes vpon them and others none.[26]

### *Of the towne of Casba.*

THis towne built by the Romans vpon a large plaine of twelue miles compasse, is fower and twentie miles distant from Tunis. The towne-wall remaineth strong as yet; but the towne it selfe is destroied by the Arabians, and the fields lie vntilled, and all by the negligence of the king of Tunis, and of the inhabitants of the same region.[27]

### *Of the castle of Choros.*

THis castle founded not many yeeres past by the Africans vpon the riuer of Magrida, and being about ten miles distant from Tunis, is enuironed with most fruitfull fields. Neere vnto this towne groweth a certaine wood greatly abounding with oliues. At length it was destroied by certaine Arabians called *Beni Heli*, which make perpetuall warre against the king of Tunis, and liue onely vpon theft and robberie.[28]

### *Of the towne of Biserta.*

THe ancient towne of Biserta otherwise called Bensart, founded by the Africans vpon the Mediterran sea, thirtie fiue miles from Tunis, is but of a small bignes, and is inhabited with most miserable people. Neere vnto this towne entreth a certaine creeke or arme of the sea, which at the first being very narrow increaseth by little and little into a maruellous bredth. On either side thereof dwell great store of fishers and husbandmen: and westward of the said creeke lieth a most large and fruitfull plaine called Mater, which is greeuously molested by the king of Tunis, and by the Arabians. In this creeke are taken abundance of fishes: and after the moneth of October they catch a certaine fish called by the Africans Giarrafa, which I take to be the same that is at Rome called Laccia: for then by reason of the abundance of raine that falleth, the salt water of the baye becommeth somewhat fresh, wherewith those fishes (they say) are much delighted. Very deepe it is, and affoordeth good fishing till the end of May: but then the fishes begin to decrease, and to be much drier in taste then before, like vnto the fishes taken in the riuer of Fez.[29]

*The fish called Giarrafa or Laccia.*

*Of the great citie of Carthage.*

THis famous and ancient citie was built at the first by a certaine people that came out of Syria. But others say that it was founded by a queene. The African chronicler *Ibnu Rachich* is of opinion, that it was built by a certaine people that came from Barca, being expelled thence by the king of Egypt: wherefore I cannot in this place affirme any certaintie as touching the founders thereof: for besides that the African historiographers disagree about this matter, there is none that hath left any writing thereof ancienter then the decay of the Roman empire: when as all the Romans that were found in Africa were expelled by the Goths. But afterward Tripolis of Barbaria and Capis being taken by the Mahumetans, the inhabitants of them both went vnto Carthage, whither the principall Romans and Goths had retired themselues, who endeuoured by all meanes to withstand the Mahumetans: and after many skirmishes the Romans fled to Bona, and the Goths left Carthage for a pray vnto the Mahumetans; so that it remained desolate many yeeres after, till a certaine Mahumetan patriarke called *Elmahdi* brought in new colonies: howbeit he could scarce furnish the twentieth part with inhabitants. There are to be seene at this day certaine ruines of the citie-walles, till you come to a deepe and large cesterne. And there remaineth as yet also a certaine conduct which conueieth water to the citie from a mountaine thirtie miles distant, being like vnto the conduct of the great palace at Rome. Neere vnto Carthage likewise are certaine great and ancient buildings, the description whereof is out of my remembrance.[30] On the west and south part of this citie are diuers gardens replenished with all kinde of fruites, which are carried from thence to Tunis in great abundance. The plaines adioining to this citie are exceeding fruitfull, though not very large: for vpon the

north part thereof lieth a mountaine, the sea, and the gulfe of Tunis[31]: on the east and south parts it ioyneth to the plaines of Bensart. But *now this citie is fallen into extreme decay & miserie: merchants shops there are not aboue twenty or five and twenty at the most: and all the houses of the towne being scarce fiue hundred, are most base and beggerly. In my time here was a stately temple and a faire college also, but no students were therein.[32] The townesmen, though very miserable, yet are they exceeding proud withall, and seeme to pretend a great shew of religion. And the greater part of them are either gardiners or husbandmen, and are greeuously oppressed with the kings daily exactions.

* 1526.

*A description of the mightie citie of Tunis.*

THis citie is called by the Latines *Tunetum*, and by the Arabians Tunus, which name they thinke to be corrupt, because it signifieth nought in their language: but in olde time it was called Tarsis, after the name of a citie in Asia.[33] At the first it was a small towne built by the Africans vpon a certaine lake, about twelue miles from the Mediterran sea. And vpon the decay of Carthage Tunis began to increase both in buildings and inhabitants. For the inhabitants of Carthage were loth to remaine any longer in their owne towne, fearing least some armie would haue beene sent out of Europe: wherefore they repaired vnto Tunis, and greatly enlarged the buildings thereof. Afterward came thither one *Hucba Vtmen* the fourth Mahumetan patriarke, who perswaded the citizens, that no armie or garrison ought to remaine in any sea-townes: wherefore he built another citie called Cairaoan, being distant from the Mediterran sea thirtie, and from Tunis almost an hundred miles: vnto

*The building of Cairaoan.*

which citie the armie marched from Tunis, and in the roome thereof other people were sent to inhabite.[34] About an hundred and fiftie yeeres after, Cairaon being sacked by the Arabians, the prince thereof was expelled, and became gouernor of the kingdome of Bugia: howbeit he left certaine kinsmen of his at Tunis, who gouerned that citie. And ten yeeres after, Bugia was taken by *Ioseph* the sonne of *Tesfin*,[35] who seeing the humanitie of the foresaid prince, would not expel him out of his kingdome: but so long as it remained to the said prince and his posteritie, *Ioseph* caused it to be free from all molestation. Afterward *Abdul Mumen* king of Maroco hauing recouered Mahdia from the Christians, marched towards Tunis, and got possession thereof also.[36] And so Tunis remained peaceably vnder the dominion of the kings of Maroco, so long as the kingdome was gouerned by the said *Abdul*, and his sonne *Ioseph*, and their successors *Iacob* and *Mansor*. But after the decease of *Mansor*, his sonne *Mahumet Ennasir* made war against the king of Spaine, by whom being vanquished, he fled to Maroco, and there within few yeeres ended his life. After him succeeded his brother *Ioseph*, who was slaine by certaine soldiers of the king of Telensin.[37] And so vpon the death of *Mahumet*, and of his brother *Ioseph*, the Arabians began to inhabite the territorie of Tunis, and to make often sieges and assaults against the citie it selfe: whereupon the gouernour of Tunis aduertised the king of Maroco, that vnlesse present aide were sent, he must be constrained to yeeld Tunis vnto the Arabians. The king therefore sent a certaine valiant captaine, called *Habduluahidi*,[38] and borne in Siuill a citie of *Granada, with a fleete of twentie sailes vnto Tunis, which he found halfe destroied by the Arabians: but so great was his eloquence and wisdome, that he restored all things to their former estate, and receiued the yeerely tribute. After *Habduluahidi* succeeded his sonne *Abu Zachheria*,[39] who

*Tunis subiect vnto Abdul-Mumen and other kings of Maroco.*

* *Or perhaps Andaluzia.*

in learning and dexteritie of wit, excelled his father. This *Abu* built a castle vpon a certaine high place of the west part of Tunis, which he adorned with faire buildings and with a most beautifull temple. Afterward taking his iourney vnto the kingdome of Tripolis, and returning home by the southerne regions, he gathered tribute in all those places: so that after his decease he left great treasure vnto his sonne. And after *Abu* succeeded his sonne,[40] who grew so insolent, that he would not be subiect to the king of Maroco, because he perceiued his kingdome to decay: at the same time also had the Marin-familie gotten possession of the kingdome of Fez, and so was the familie of *Beni Zeÿen* possessed of the kingdomes of Telensin and Granada. And so while all those regions were at mutuall dissension, the dominions of Tunis began mightily to increase. Insomuch that the king of Tunis marched vnto Telensin, and demanded tribute of the inhabitants. Wherefore the king of Fez, who as then laid siege against Maroco, craued by his ambassadours the king of Tunis his friendship, and with great giftes obtained the same. Then the king of Tunis returning home conquerour from Telensin, was receiued with great triumph, and was saluted king of all Africa, because indeed there was no prince of Africa at the same time comparable vnto him. Wherefore he began to ordaine a roiall court, and to choose Secretaries, counsellers, captaines, and other officers appertaining to a king; after the very same manner that was vsed in the court of Maroco. And from the time of this king euen till our times, the kingdome of Tunis hath so prospered, that now it is accounted the richest kingdome in all Africa. The said kings sonne raigning after his fathers death, enlarged the suburbes of Tunis with most stately buildings. Without the gate called Bed Suvaica[41] he built a streete containing to the number of three hundred families; and he built another

streete at the gate called Bed el Manera[42] consisting of more than a thousand families. In both of these streetes dwell great store of artificers, & in the street last mentioned all the Christians of Tunis, which are of the kings garde, haue their aboad. Likewise there is a third streete built at the gate next vnto the sea, called Beb el Bahar,[43] and being but halfe a mile distant from the gulfe of Tunis. Hither doe the Genoueses, Venetians, and all other Christian merchants resort, and here they repose themselues out of the tumult and concourse of the Moores: and this street is of so great bignes, that it containeth three hundred families of Christians and Moores, but the houses are verie low, and of small receit. The families of the citie, togither with them of the suburbs, amount almost to the number of ten thousand. This stately and populous citie hath a peculiar place assigned for each trade and occupation. Heere dwell great store of linnen-weauers, and the linnen that they weaue is exceeding fine, & sold at a great price ouer al Africa.[44] The women of this towne vse a strange kinde of spinning: for standing vpon an high place or on the vpper part of the house they let downe their spindles at a window, or through a hole of the plancher into a lower roume, so that the weight of the spindle makes the thread verie equall and euen. And here the linnen-drapers haue many shops, and are accounted the wealthiest citizens in all Tunis: here are also great store of grocers, apothecaries, taylors, and of all other trades and occupations: butchers here are verie many which sell mutton for the most part, especially in the spring, and in summer: also here are abundance of all kinde of artificers, euerie of which to describe would prooue tedious: the apparell of their merchants, priests, and doctors is verie decent. Vpon their heads they weare a Dulipan, which is couered with a great linnen-cloth: the courtiers likewise and the souldiers weare all of them

*A strange kind of spinning.*

Dulipans, but not couered with linnen. Rich men here are but few, by reason of the scarcitie of all kinde of graine: for a man cannot till a piece of ground, be it neuer so neere the citie, in regard of the manifold inuasions of the Arabians. Corne is brought vnto them from other regions and cities, as namely from Vrbs, from Beggia, and from Bona. Some of the citizens of Tunis haue certaine fields in the suburbs walled round about; where they sowe some quantitie of barley and of other corne: howbeit the soyle is maruellous dry, and standeth in need of much watring: for which purpose euery man hath a pit; whereout with a certaine wheele turned about by a mule or a camel, and through certaine conueyances and passages made for the nonce, they water all the vpper part of their ground: now consider (I pray you) what great crop of corne can be reaped out of so little a field, walled round about and watred by such cunning and industrie. Bread they make verie excellent, albeit they leaue the bran still among the flower, & they bake their loaues in certaine mortars, such as the Egyptians vse to beat flaxe in. The merchants and most part of the citizens vse for food a kinde of homely pulse or pappe called by them Besis, being made of barley meale in forme of a dumpling, whereupon they powre oyle or the broth of Pome-citrons. And there is a certaine place in the citie where nothing but barley prepared in a readines to make the said pulse, is to be sold. They vse also another kinde of foode almost as homely as the former: for seething a quantitie of meale thoroughly in water, and after braying it in another vessell with a pestill, they powre oyle or flesh-pottage thereunto, and so eat it: and this meate they call Bezin: but the richer sort feed themselues with more daintie meats.[45] All their milles (except such as stand vpon a riuer not far from the citie) are turned about either by the strength of mules, or asses. In

this citie they haue no fountaines, riuers, nor welles of fresh water: but they all vse raine-water taken out of cesterns, sauing that there is a fountaine in the suburbs, from whence certaine porters bring salt water into the citie to sell, which they thinke to be more holesome and fit for drinke then raine-water. Other wels there are that affoorde most excellent water, which is reserued onely for the king & his courtiers. In this citie there is one most stately temple, furnished with sufficient number of priests, and with rich reuenues. Other temples there be also, but not endowed with so ample reuenues: here are colledges likewise and monasteries built after their maner, al of which are maintained vpon the common beneuolence of the citie. There are certaine people in this citie whom a man would take to be distraught, which goe bare-headed and bare-footed, carrying stones about with them, and these are reuerenced by the common people, for men of singular holines. Moreouer on the behalfe of one of these mad fellowes, called *Sidi el-Dahi*; and for the residue of his fond societie, the king of Tunis built one of the foresaid monasteries, and endowed the same with most ample reuenues. All the houses of this citie are indifferently beautifull, being built of excellent stones, and adorned with much painting and caruing. They have verie artificiall pargettings or plaister-works, which they beautifie with orient colours: for wood to carue vpon is verie scarce at Tunis. The floores of their chambers are paued with certaine shining and faire stones: and most of their houses are but of one storie high: and almost euerie house hath two gates or entrances; one towards the street, and another towards the kitchin and other back-roumes: between which gates they haue a faire court, where they may walke and conferre with their friends. The bath-stoues here are far more commodious than those at Fez, though not so large and sumptuous. In the suburbs are

many pleasant gardens which yeeld fruit, albeit not in great abundance, yet verie excellent: pome-citrons, roses, and other flowers here are great store, especially in that place which they call Bardo, where the king hath built a palace amidst those beautifull and sweete gardens. On all sides of the citie within fower or fiue miles, there growe such plentie of oliues, that the oyle thereof sufficeth not onely the citie, but is carried also in great quantitie into Egypt. The wood of the oliue-trees which they cut downe they vse to burne and to make char-coales thereof: neither do I thinke any place to be more destitute of wood then this. Pouertie constraineth some of their women to lead an vnchast life: they are decently apparelled, and going foorth of the house, they weare vailes or maskes before their faces, like vnto the women of Fez: for with one linnen-cloath they couer their foreheads, and ioine thereto another which they call Setfari: but about their heads they lap such fardels of linnen, as they seeme comparable to the heads of Giants. Most part of their substance and labour they bestow vpon perfumes and other such vanities. They haue here a compound called Lhasis, whereof whosoeuer eateth but one ounce falleth a laughing, disporting, and dallying, as if he were halfe drunken; and is by the said confection maruellously prouoked unto lust.[46]

### *Of the king of Tunis his court, and of the rites and ceremonies there vsed.*

SO soone as the king of Tunis hath by inheritance attained to his kingdome, all his nobles, doctors, priestes, and iudges, binde themselues by solemne oth vnto him. Immediately after any kings death, his sonne and heire apparent succeedeth in the kingdome: then the chiefe officer of the court (called the Munafid, because he is the kings vice-roy or high deputie) presenteth himselfe foorthwith vnto the new king, and giueth vp an account of

all things which he did while the olde king liued : and then at the kings appointment euerie of the nobles receiue offices from the Munafid according to their seuerall places of dignitie. Another principall officer there is, called the Mesuare, that is, the great commander and gouernour of the warlike forces : who hath authoritie to increase or diminish the number of soldiers, to giue them their pay, to leuie armies, and to conduct the same whither he thinketh good. The third officer in dignitie is the Castellan, who with his soldiers taketh charge of the castle, and looketh to the sauegarde of the kings owne person : and he allotteth punishments vnto such prisoners as are brought into the said castle, as if he were the king himselfe. The fourth officer is the gouernor of the citie, whose dutie is to administer iustice in the common wealth, and to punish malefactors. The fift officer is the kings secretarie, who hath authoritie to write, and to giue answere in the kings name : he may open and read any letters whatsoeuer, except such as are sent vnto the Castellan and gouernour of the citie. The sixt is the kings chief chamberlaine, who is to furnish the walles with hangings, to appoint vnto euery man his place, and by a messenger to assemble the kings counsellours, and this man hath great familiaritie with the king, and hath accesse to speak with him, as often as he pleaseth. The seuenth in dignitie is the kings treasurer, who receiueth all customes, tributes, and yeerly reuenues, and paieth them, with the kings consent, vnto the Munafid. The eight officer is he that receiueth tribute for merchandize that are brought by land, who taketh custome also of forren merchants, which are constrained for the value of euery hundred duckats to pay two duckats and a halfe : this customer hath many spies and officers, who hauing intelligence of any merchants arriuall, they bring him foorthwith before their master, in whose absence they keepe him so long in their custodie, till their said master

be present, and till the merchant hath deliuered all such custome as is due, and being bound with many othes, he is dismissed. The ninth officer receiueth tribute only of such wares as are brought by sea, and dwelleth in a house by the hauens side. The tenth is the steward of the kings houshold, who is to prouide bread, meate, and other necessarie victuals, and to apparell all the kings wiues, eunuches, and the Negro-slaues that attend vpon him. He also taketh charge of the kings sonnes and of their nurses, and allotteth busines vnto the Christian captiues. These are the chiefe officers vnder the king of Tunis: the residue (least I should seeme tedious to the reader) I haue of purpose omitted to intreate of. The king of Tunis hath fifteene hundred most choise soldiers, the greatest part of whom are Renegadoes or backsliders from the Christian faith: and these haue liberall pay allowed them. They haue a captaine ouer them also, who may increase or diminish their number as he pleaseth. Also there are an hundred and fiftie soldiers being Moores, who haue authoritie to remoue the tents of the kings armie from place to place. There are likewise a certain number of crossebowes, which attend vpon the king whithersoeuer he rideth: but next of all to the kings person is his garde of Christians, which (as we signified before) dwell in the suburbs. Before the king marcheth a garde of footemen, being all of them Turkish archers, and gunners. Immediately before the king goe his lackies or footemen. One there is that rideth on the one side of the king, carrying his partizan, another on the other side beareth his target, and the third comming behind him carrieth his crossebowe. Others there are also that attend vpon the king, whom (for breuities sake) we omit here to speak of. These are the principall rites and ceremonies of the ancient kings of Tunis, being much different from them which are vsed by the king that now is. I could here make a large

discourse of the kings vices that now raigneth (at whose hands I confesse my selfe to haue receiued great benefits) but that is not my purpose at this present: this one thing I can affirme, that he is maruellous cunning to procure money out of his subiects purses. But he himselfe liueth sometimes in his palace, and sometimes in gardens, in the companie of his concubines, musicians, stage-plaiers, and such like. When he calleth for any musician, he is brought in blindfold or hoodwinked in manner of a hawke. The golden coine[47] of Tunis containeth fower and twenty charats apeece, that is to say, a duckat and one third part of the coine of Europe: there is a kind of siluer-money coined also, being fower square in forme, which waieth sixe charats apeece: and thirtie or two and thirtie of these peeces are equall in value to one peece of their gold coine, and they are called Nasari: the Italians call the gold-coine of Tunis Doble.[48] And thus much concerning the king of Tunis, and the customes of his court. *Doble.*

## *Of the towne of Neapolis.*

THis ancient towne built by the Romans vpon the Mediterran sea almost twelue- miles eastward of Tunis is inhabited by certaine Moores called Nabell. It was in times past very populous, but now there dwell but a few pesants therein, which exercise themselues onely about sowing and reaping of flaxe.[49]

## *Of the towne of Cammar.*

THis towne is very ancient also and neere vnto Carthage, standing eight miles northward of Tunis. The inhabitants being many in number are all of them gardiners, and vse to bring their herbes and fruits to Tunis to be solde. Here also growe great store of sugar-canes, which are brought likewise vnto Tunis: but because they *Sugar-Canes*

haue not the arte of getting out the sugar, they vse onely after meales to sucke the sweete iuice out of the said canes.[50]

### *Of the towne of Marsa.*

THis ancient towne standing vpon the Mediterran sea neere the same place where the hauen of Carthage was of olde, remained certaine yeeres desolate, but now it is inhabited by certaine fishers and husbandmen: and here they vse to white linnen-cloth. Not far from hence are certaine castles and palaces, where the king of Tunis ordinarily remaineth in summer-time.[51]

### *Of the towne of Ariana.*

MOreouer this ancient towne was built by the Goths almost eight miles northward of Tunis. It is enuironed with most pleasant and fruitfull gardens, and it hath a strong wall, and containeth many husbandmen. Certaine other little townes there are not far distant from Carthage, some inhabited, and the residue desolate, the names whereof I haue quite forgotten.[52]

### *Of the towne of Hammamet.*

THis towne built by the Mahumetans of late yeeres, and enuironed with a wall of great strength, is distant from Tunis almost fiftie miles. The inhabitants are miserable people, and oppressed with continuall exactions, being the greatest part of them either fishers or colliers.[53]

### *Of the town of Heraclia.*

THis little and ancient towne was founded by the Romans vpon a certaine mountaine, and was afterward destroied by the Arabians.[54]

*Of the towne of Susa.*

THis exceeding great and ancient towne was built by the Romans vpon the Mediterran sea, being distant from Tunis about an hundred miles. The plaines adioyning abound with oliues and figs: their fieldes are most fruitfull for barlie, if they could be tilled, but the Arabians often incursions are the cause why they lie waste. The inhabitants being most liberall and courteous people, and great friends unto strangers, make voiages most of them vnto the easterne regions and vnto Turkie; and some also frequent the next townes of Sicilia and Italie. The residue of the inhabitants are either weauers, or graziers of cattell, or such as turne wooden vessels, wherewith they furnish the whole kingdome of Tunis. When the Mahumetans first woon that prouince, this towne was the seate of the vice-roy, whose palace is as yet remaining. A most stately towne it is, enuironed with strong walles, and situate vpon a most beautifull plaine. It was in times past well stored with inhabitants, and with faire buildings whereof some, together with a goodly temple, are as yet extant. But now it containeth very few people, and but fiue shops in all, by reason of the kings continuall exactions. I my selfe was constrained to stay in this towne for fower daies, in regarde of the danger of the time.[55]

*Of the towne of Monaster.*

THe ancient towne of Monaster built by the Romans vpon the Mediterran sea, and distant almost twelue miles from Susa, is enuironed with most impregnable and stately walles, and containeth very faire buildings: but the inhabitants are most miserable and beggerly people, and weare shooes made of sea-rushes: most of them are either weauers or fishers: their fare is barlie bread, and a kinde

of foode mingled with oile, which we called before Bezzin, which is vsed in all the townes thereabout: the soile will yeeld no other corne but barlie. The territorie adiacent aboundeth with oranges, peares, figs, pomegranates, and oliues, sauing that it is continually wasted by the inuasion of the enemie.[56]

### *Of the towne of Tobulba.*

THis towne built also by the Romaines vpon the Mediterran sea, standeth about twelue miles eastward of Monaster. For certaine yeeres it was very populous, and greatly abounded with oliues: but afterwarde it was so wasted by the Arabians, that now there are but few houses remaining, which are inhabited by certaine religious men: these religious men maintaine a faire hospitall for strangers trauelling that way, where they courteously entertaine euen the Arabians themselues.[57]

### *Of the towne of El Mahdia, otherwise called Africa.*

EL Mahdia founded in our time[58] by *Mahdi* the first patriarke of Cairaoan vpon the Mediterran sea, and fortified with strong wals, towers, and gates, hath a most noble hauen belonging thereto. *Mahdi* when hee first entred into this region, fained himselfe in an vnknowne habite to be descended of the linage of *Mahumet*, whereby growing into great fauour of the people, he was by their assistance made prince of Cairaoan, and was called El Mahdi Calisa: afterward trauelling fortie daies iourney westwarde into Numidia to receiue tribute due vnto him, he was taken by the prince of Segelmesse,[59] and put in prison, howbeit the said prince of Segelmese being presently mooued with compassion toward him, restored him to his former libertie, and was for his good will not long after slaine by him. Afterwarde tyrannizing ouer the people, and perceiuing some to conspire against him, he erected

this towne of Mahdia, to the end he might there finde safe refuge when neede required. At length one *Beiezid*[60] a Mahumetan prelate (whom they called the cauallier or knight of the asse, bicause that riding continually vpon an asse he conducted an armie of fortie thousand men) came vnto Cairaoan: but *Mahdi* fledde vnto his new towne, where with thirtie saile of ships sent him by a Mahumetan prince of Cordoua, he so valiantly encountered the enimie, that *Beiezid* and his sonne were both slaine in that battaile: afterward returning to Cairaoan, he grew in league and amitie with the citizens, and so the gouernment remained vnto his posteritie for many yeeres. But an hundred and thirtie yeeres past this *towne was taken by the Christians, and was afterwards recouered by a certaine Mahumetan patriarke of Maroco called *Abdel Mumen*,[61] but nowe it is subiect vnto the king of Tunis, by whom it is continually oppressed with most grieuous exactions. The inhabitants exercise traffike with forraine nations: and they are at so great dissention with the Arabians, that they are scarce permitted to till their grounds. Not many yeeres ago *Pedro de Nauarra* assailing this towne onely with nine ships, was defeated of his purpose, and constrained to returne with great losse of his men. This hapned in the yeere of our Lord 1519.[62]

*El Mahdia.

*Of the towne of Asfachus.*

THIS towne was built by the Africans vpon the Mediterran sea, at such time as they waged warre against the Romaines. It is compassed with most high and strong wals, and was in times past very populous, but now it containeth but three or fower hundreth families at the most, and but a fewe shops. Oppressed it is both by the Arabians, and by the king of Tunis. All the inhabitants are either weauers, marriners, or fishermen. They take great store of fishes called by them Spares,

which worde signifieth nought in the Arabian and Barbarian, much less in the Latine toong. This people liue also vpon barly bread and Bezin: their apparell is base, and some of them traffike in Egypt and Turkie.[63]

*Of the great citie of Cairaoan.*

THE famous citie of Cairaoan otherwise called Caroen,[64] was founded by *Hucba*, who was sent generall of an armie out of the Arabia deserta, by *Hutmen* the thirde Mahumetan Califa. From the Mediterran sea this citie is distant sixe and thirtie, and from Tunis almost an hundred miles; neither was it built (they say) for any other purpose, but onely that the Arabian armie might securely rest therein with all such spoiles as they woone from the Barbarians, and the Numidians. He enuironed it with most impregnable walles, and built therein a sumptuous temple, supported with stately pillers. The saide *Hucba* after the death of *Hutmen* was ordained prince of Muchauia, and gouerned the same till the time of *Qualid Califa* the sonne of *Habdul Malic*,[65] who as then raigned in Damasco: this *Qualid* sent a certaine captaine called *Muse* the sonne of *Nosair*,[66] with an huge armie vnto Cairaoan: who hauing staied a fewe daies with his armie not farre from Cairaoan, marched westward, sacking and spoiling townes and cities, till he came to the Ocean sea shore, and then he returned towards Cairaoan againe. From whence he sent as his deputie a certaine captaine into Mauritania, who there also conquered many regions and cities. Insomuch that *Muse* being mooued with a iealous emulation, commanded him to staie till himselfe came. His said Deputie therefore called *Tarich* encamped himselfe not far from Andaluzia, whither *Muse* within 4 months came vnto him with an huge armie. From whence both of them with their armies crossing the seas, arriued in Granada, and so marched by lande against the Goths.

Against whom *Theodoricus* the king of Goths opposing himselfe in battaile, was miserablie vanquished. Then the foresaide two captaines with all good successe proceeded euen to Castilia, and sacked the citie of Toledo, where amongst much other treasure, they founde many reliques of the saints, and the very same table whereat Christ sate with his blessed Apostles, which being couered with pure gold and adorned with great store of precious stones, was esteemed to be woorth halfe a million of ducates, and this table *Muse* carrying with him as if it had beene all the treasure in Spaine, returned with his armie ouer the sea, and bent his course towarde Cairaoan. And being in the meane space sent for by the letters of *Qualid. Califa*, he sailed into Egypt: but arriuing at Alexandria, it was tolde him by one *Hescian*, brother vnto the saide *Califa*, that the *Califa* his brother was fallen into a most dangerous disease: wherefore he wished him not to goe presently unto Damasco, for feare least if the *Califa* died in the meane season, those rich and sumptuous spoiles should be wasted and dispersed to no ende. But *Muse* little regarding this counsell, proceeded on to Damasco, and presented all his spoiles to the *Califa*, who within fiue daies after deceased. After whom his brother succeeding *Califa*, depriued *Muse* of his dignitie, and substituted one *Iezul* into his roome, whose sonne, brother, and nephewes succeeding, gouerned the citie of Cairaoan,[67] till such time as the familie of *Qualid* was depriued of that dignitie, and one *Elagleb* was appointed lieutenant, who gouerned not the towne as a *Califa*: from that time the Mahumetan *Califas* leauing Damasco, remooued vnto Bagaded, as we find recorded in a certaine Chronicle.[68] After the decease of *Elagleb*, succeeded his sonne, and the gouernment remained vnto his posterie for an hundred threescore and ten yeeres, till such time as they were depriued thereof by one *Mahdi Califa*.[69] But at the same time when *Elagleb* was

gouernour, the citie of Cairaoan was so increased both with inhabitants, and buildings, that a towne called Recheda was built next vnto it, where the prinee and his nobles vsed to remaine.[70] In his time also the Isle of Sicilia was woone: for *Elagleb* sent thither a certaine captaine called *Halcama*, who built vpon the said Island a towne instead of a forte, calling it according to his owne name *Halcama*, which name is vsed by the Sicilians euen till this present.[71] Afterward this new towne was beseiged by certaine people that came to aide the Sicilians. Whereupon one *Ased* was sent with an armie, & so the Moores forces being augmented they conquered the residue of Sicilia, by which meanes the dominions of Cairaoan began woonderfully to increase. The citie of Cairaoan standeth vpon a sandie and desert plaine, which beareth no trees, nor yet any corne at all. Corne is brought thither from Susa, from Monaster, and from Mahdia, all which townes are within the space of forty miles. About twelue miles from Cairaoan standeth a certaine mountaine called Gueslet, where some of the Romaines buildings are as yet extant: this mountaine aboundeth with springs of water and carobs, which springs run downe to Cairaoan, where otherwise they shoulde haue no water but such as is kept in cesternes.[72] Without the wals of this citie raine water is to be found in certaine cesternes onely till the beginning of Iune. In sommer time the Arabians vse to resort vnto the plaines adioining vpon this towne, who bring great dearth of corne and water, but exceeding plentie of dates and flesh with them, and that out of Numidia, which region is almost an hundred threescore and ten miles distant. In this citie for certaine yeeres the studie of the Mahumetan lawe mightily flourished, so that heere were the most famous lawyers in all Africa. It was at length destroied, and replanted againe with newe inhabitants, but it coulde neuer attaine vnto the former estate. At this present it is inhabited by none but

*The isle of Sicilie subdued by the gouernour of Cairoan.*

leather-dressers, who sende their leather vnto the cities of Numidia, and exchange it also for cloth of Europe. Howbeit they are so continually oppressed by the king of Tunis, that now they are brought vnto extreme miserie.[73]

### *Of the citie of Capes.*

THis ancient citie built by the Romaines vpon the Mediterran sea, was fortified with most high and stately walles, and with a strong castle.[74] Iust by it runneth a certaine riuer of hot and salt water.[75] It hath continually been so molested by the Arabians, that the inhabitants abandoning their citie, resorted vnto certaine plaines replenished with great abundance of dates, which by a certaine arte are preserued all the yeere long. Heere is also digged out of the grounde a kinde of fruite about the bignes of a beane, and in taste resembling an almond. This fruite being ordinarie ouer all the kingdome of Tunis, is called by the Arabians Habhaziz.[76] The inhabitants of the foresaide plaine are blacke people, being all of them either fishers, or husbandmen.

*The fruit called Habhaziz.*

### *Of the towne called El Hamma.*

THis most ancient towne[77] founded also by the Romans, and being distant from Capes almost fifteene miles, is enuironed with most stately and strong walles: aud vpon certaine marble stones therein are engrauen diuers monuments of antiquitie. The streets and buildings of this towne are very base, and the inhabitants miserable, and addicted to robberie. Their fields are barren and vnprofitable, and will bring foorth nought but certaine vnsauorie dates. A mile and a halfe to the south of this towne beginneth a certaine riuer of hot water to spring, which being brought thorough the midst of the citie by certaine chanels is so deepe, that it will reach vp to a mans nauell: howbeit by reason of the extreme heat

*A riuer of hot water.*

of the water, there are but few that will enter thereinto. And yet the inhabitants vse it for drinke, hauing set it a cooling almost an whole day. At length this riuer not far from the towne maketh a certaine lake, which is called the lake of leapers: for it is of woonderfull force to heale the disease of leprosie, and to cure leprous sores: wherefore neere vnto it are diuers cottages of lepers, some of whom are restored to their health. The saide water tasteth in a manner like brimstone, so that it will nothing at all quench a mans thirst, whereof I my selfe haue had often triall.

*The lake of lepers.*

## *Of the castle of Machres.*

THe castle of Machres[78] was built by the Africans in my time vpon the entrance of the gulfe of Capes, to defend the same region from the inuasion of the enemie. It is almost fiue hundred miles distant from the isle of Gerbi. All the inhabitants are either weauers, shipwrights, or fishermen, and haue traffike & recourse ouer all the foresaid isle. They haue al the same language that the people of the isle of Gerbi vse: but because they want grounds and possessions, al of them, saue the weauers, liue only vpon theft & robbery.

## *Of the isle of Gerbi or Zerbi, where* Iohn Leo *the Author of this Historie was taken by Italian pirates, and carried thence to Rome.*

THis isle[79] being neere vnto the firme land of Africa, and consisting of a plaine and sandie ground, aboundeth exceedingly with dates, vines, oliues, and other fruits, and containeth about eighteen miles in compasse. It hath also certaine farmes and granges, which are so farre distant asunder, that you shall scarce finde two or three in one village. Their ground is drie and barren, which though it be neuer so well tilled, will yeeld but a

little barlie. And here corne and flesh is alwaies at an exceeding rate. At the sea shore standeth a strong castle, wherein the gouernour of the whole Island and his retinue haue their abode. Not farre from hence there is a certaine village,[80] where the Christian, Mauritanian, and Turkish merchants haue their place of residence; in which place there is a great market or faire weekely kept, whither all the merchants of the Island and many Arabians from the maine land with great store of cattle and wooll doe resort. The inhabitants of the Isle bring cloth thither to sell, which they themselues make, and this cloth togither with great store of raisins they vsually transport vnto Tunis, and Alexandria to be solde. Scarce fiftie yeeres sithence this Isle was inuaded and conquered by Christians: but it was immediately recouered by the king of Tunis.[81] And presently after (new colonies being heere planted) the foresaide castle was reedified: which the kings of Tunis afterwarde enioied. But after the death of king Hutmen the Islanders returned to their former libertie, and presently broke the bridge from the Island to the maine lande, fearing least they shoulde be inuaded by some land-armie. Not long after the said Islanders slaying the king of Tunis his gouernours of the Isle, haue themselues continued gouernours thereof till this present. Out of this Island is gathered the summe of fowerscore thousand Dobles (euery Doble containing an Italian ducate, and one third part) for yeerely tribute, by reason of the great concourse and resort of the merchants of Alexandria, Turkie, and Tunis. But now because they are at continuall dissension and controuersie, their estate is much impaired. In my time *Don Ferdinando* king of Spaine, sent a great armada ageinst this Island, vnder the conduct of the duke of Alua, who not knowing the nature of the same, commanded his soldiers to land a good distance from thence: but the Moores so valiantly defended

*The armie of don Ferdinando defeated.*

their Island, that the Spaniards were constrained to giue backe: and so much the greater was their distresse, in that they coulde not finde water sufficient to quench their extreme thirst. Moreouer, at the Spaniards arriuall it was a full tide, but when they would haue returned on bourd, it was so great an ebbe, that their ships were constrained to put to sea, least they shoulde haue beene cast vpon the sholdes. The shore was drie for almost fower miles togither, so that the Spanish soldiers were put vnto great toile, before they coulde come to the waters side. And the Moores pursued them so eagerly, that they slew and took prisoners the greatest part of them, and the residue escaped by shipping into Sicilia. Afterwarde the Emperour *Charles* the fift sent a mightie fleete thither vnder the conduct of a Rhodian knight of the order of Saint *Iohn de Messina*, who so discreetly behaued himselfe in that action, that the Moores compounded to pay fiue thousand Dobles for yeerly tribute, vpon condition of the Emperours league and goodwill, which yeerely tribute is payde vntil this present.[82]

*Gerbi made tributarie vnto Charles the fift by meanes of a knight of the Rhodes.*

### *Of the towne of Zoara.*

THis towne built by the Africans vpon the Mediterran sea, standeth eastward from the Isle of Gerbi almost fiftie miles. The towne wall is weak and the inhabitants are poore people, being occupied about nothing but making of lime and plaistring, which they sell in the kingdome of Tripoli. Their fields are most barren: and the inhabitants haue continually beene molested by the invasions of the Christians, especially since the time that they woon Tripolis.[83]

*Of the towne of Lepide.*

THis ancient towne founded by the Romans, and enuironed with most high and strong walles, hath twise been sacked by the Mahumetans, and of the stones and ruines thereof was Tripolis afterward built.[84]

*Of the olde citie of Tripolis.*

OLde Tripolis built also by the Romans, was after woon by the Goths, and lastly by the Mahumetans, in the time of *Califa Homar* the second. Which Mahumetans hauing besieged the gouernour of Tripoli six moneths together, compelled him at length to flee vnto Carthage. The citizens were partly slaine, and partly carried captiue into Egypt and Arabia, as the most famous African Historiographer *Ibnu Rachith* reporteth.[85]

*Of the new citie of Tripolis in Barbarie.*

AFter the destruction of old Tripolis,[86] there was built another city of that name: which city being inuironed with most high and beautifull wals, but not verie strong, is situate vpon a sandie plaine, which yeeldeth great store of dates. The houses of this citie are most stately in respect of the houses of Tunis: and heere also euerie trade and occupation hath a seuerall place. Weauers here are many. They haue no wels nor fountaines; but all their water is taken out of cesterns. Corne in this citie is at an exceeding rate; for all the fields of Tripoli are as sandie and barren as the fields of Numidia. The reason whereof is, for that the principall and fattest grounds of this region are ouerflowed with the sea. The inhabitants of this region affirme, that the greatest part of their fields northward are swallowed vp by

*Plentie of dates.*

the Mediterran sea, the like whereof is to be seene in the territories of Monaster, Mahdia, Asfacos, Capes, the Isle of Gerbi, and other places more eastward, where the sea for the space of a mile is so shallow, that it will scarce reach vnto a mans nauell. Yea, some are of opinion, that the citie of Tripolis it selfe was situate in times past more to the north, but by reason of the continuall inundations of the sea, it was built and remooved little and little southward; for proofe whereof there stand as yet ruines of houses drowned in certaine places of the sea.[87] In this citie were many faire temples and colledges built, and an hospitall also for the maintenance of their owne poore people, and for the entertainment of strangers. Their fare is verie base and homely, beeing onely the forenamed Besis made of barley meale: for that region affoordeth so small quantitie euen of barley, that he is accounted a wealthie man that hath a bushell or two of corne in store. The citizens are most of them merchants; for Tripolis standeth neere vnto Numidia and Tunis, neither is there any citie or towne of account between it and Alexandria: neither is it far distant from the Isles of Sicilia and Malta: and vnto the port of Tripolis Venetian ships yeerly resort, and bring thither great store of merchandize. This citie hath alwaies been subject unto the king of Tunis: but when *Abulhasen* the king of Fez besieged Tunis, the king of Tunis was constrained with his Arabians to flee into the deserts. Howbeit when *Abulhasen* was conquered, the king of Tunis returned to his kingdome: but his subiects began to oppose themselues against him: and so that common-wealth was afterward greuiously turmoyled with ciuill dissensions and warres. Whereof the king of Fez hauing intelligence, marched the fifth yeere of the said ciuill warre with an armie against the citie of Tunis, and hauing vanquished the king thereof, and constrained him to flee vnto Constantina, he so straitly besieged him, that

the citizens of Constantina seeing themselues not able to withstãd the king of Fez, opened their citie gates to him and to all his armie. Whereupon the king of Tunis was carried captiue vnto Fez, and was afterward kept a while prisoner in the castle of Septa.[88] In the meane season Tripolis was by a Genouese fleete of twentie sailes surprised and sacked, and the inhabitants carried away captiue. Whereof the king of Fez beeing aduertised, gaue the Genoueses fiftie thousand ducates vpon condition that he might enioy the towne in peace. But the Genoueses hauing surrendred the towne, perceiued after their departure, that most of their ducates were counterfait.[89] Afterward the king of Tunis being restored vnto his former liberty by *Abuselim* king of Fez, returned home vnto his kingdome, and so the gouernment thereof remained vnto him and his posteritie, till *Abubar* the sonne of *Hutmen* togither with his yoong sonne was slaine in the castle of Tripolis by a nephew of his, who afterward usurped the kingdome: but he was slaine in a battell which he fought against *Habdul Mumen*, who presently thereupon became Lord of Tripolis. After him succeeded his sonne *Zachariąs*, who within a few moneths dyed of the pestilence. After *Zacharias*, *Mucamen* the sonne of *Hesen* and cosin to *Zacharias* was chosen king; who beginning to tyrannize ouer the citizens was by them expelled out of his kingdome: and afterward a certaine citizen was aduanced vnto the royall throne, who gouerned verie modestly. But the king which was before expelled sent an armie of souldiers against Tripolis, who loosing the field, were all of them put to flight. Afterward the king that began to raigne so modestly, prooued a verie tyrant, and being murthered by his kinsman, the people made choise of a certaine nobleman, leading as then an Hermites life, and in a manner against his will appointed him their gouernour: and so the gouernment of the citie of Tripolis remained vnto him and his posteritie, till such

*Tripolis taken by a fleete of Genowaies.*

time as king *Ferdinando* sent Don *Pedro de Nauarra* against it: who on the sudden encountring this citie, carried away many captiues with him. The gouernour of Tripolis and his sonne in lawe were sent prisoners vnto Messina. Where, after certaine yeeres imprisonment, they were restored by the Emperour *Charles* the fift vnto their former libertie, and returned vnto Tripolis, which towne was afterward destroyed by the Christians. The castle of Tripolis being enuironed with most strong walles, begin (as I vnderstand) to be replanted with new inhabitants. And thus much as concerning the cities of the kingdome of Tunis.[90]

*Tripolis surprised by Pedro de Nauarra.*

*Of the mountaines belonging to the state of Bugia.*

THe territorie of Bugia is full of ragged, high, and woodie mountaines: the inhabitants being a noble, rich, and liberall people, and possessing great store of goats, oxen, and horses, haue alwaies continued in libertie, since the time that Bugia was surprised by the Christians. The people of these mountaines vse to haue a blacke crosse vpon one of their cheekes, according to the ancient custome before mentioned. Their bread is made of barly, and they haue abundance of nuts and figs vpon those mountaines, especially which are neere vnto Zoaoa: in some places of these mountaines are certaine mines of iron, whereof they make a kinde of coine of halfe a pound weight. They haue also another sort of siluer coine weighing fower graines a pecce: these mountaines yeeld abundance of wine and hempe; but their linnen-cloath that they weaue is exceeding course. And these mountaines of Bugia extende in length vpon the coast of the Mediterran sea almost a hundred and fiftie, and in bredth fortie miles: each mountaine containeth inhabitants of a diuers kinred and generation from others, whom because they liue all after one manner, we will passe ouer in silence.[91]

*Iron-mines.*

*Of mount Auraz.*

THis exceeding high and populous mountaine is inhabited with most barbarous people, that are wholy addicted vnto robberie and spoile. From Bugia it is distant fowerscore, and from Constantina almost threescore miles. Also being separated from other mountaines it extendeth about threescore miles in length. Southward it bordereth vpon the Numidian deserts, and northward vpon the regions of Mesila, Stefe, Nicaus, and Constantina. From the very toppe of this mountaine issue diuers streames of water, which running downe into the next plaines, increase at length into a lake, the water whereof in sommer time is salt. The passage vnto this mountaine is very difficult, in regard of certain cruell Arabians.[92]

*Of the mountaine of Constantina.*

ALl the north and west part of the territorie belonging to the citie of Constantina is full of high mountaines, which beginning at the borders of Bugia, extend themselues to the Mediterran sea, euen as farre as Bona, that is to say, almost an hundred and thirtie miles. Their fields vpon the plaines are replenished with oliues, figges, and all other kindes of fruites, which are carried in great quantitie vnto the next townes and cities: all the inhabitants for ciuill demeanour excell the citizens of Bugia, and do exercise diuers manuarie arts, and weaue great store of linnen cloth. They are at continuall dissention among themselues, by reason that their women will so often change husbands. They are exceeding rich, and free from all tribute: and yet dare they not till their plaines, both for feare of the Arabians, and also of the gouernours of the next cities. Euerie weeke vpon sundry daies heere is a market, greatly frequented with merchants of Constantina, & of other places: and whatsoeuer merchant hath no

friend nor acquaintãce dwelling vpon the mountaines, is in great hazard to be notablie cozened. Vpon these mountaines they haue nether iudges, priests, nor yet any learned men: so that when any of the inhabitants would write a letter vnto his friend, he must trudge vp and downe sometime twelue, and sometime fifteene miles to seek a scribe. Footemen for the warres they haue almost fortie thousand, and about fower thousand horsemen. The inhabitants are men of such valour, that if they agreed among themselues, they woulde soone be able to conquer all Africa.[93]

*Of the mountaines of Bona.*

THe citie of Bona hath on the north part the Mediterran sea, on the south and west parts certaine mountaines adioining almost vnto the mountaines of Constantina, and on the east side it hath most fruitfull fieldes and large plaines, whereupon in times past were diuers townes and castles, built by the Romains: the ruines whereof are now onely remaining, and the names quite forgotten. All these regions by reason of the Arabians crueltie are so desolate, that they are inhabited in but very fewe places; and there they are constrained to keepe out the Arabians by force of armes. The mountaines of Bona extend in length from east to west almost forescore miles, and in bredth about thirtie miles. Heere are great store of fountaines, from whence certaine riuers issue, running through the plaines into the Mediterran sea.

*Of the mountaines standing neere vnto Tunis.*

THe citie of Tunis standing vpon a plaine hath no mountaines nigh vnto it, but onely on the west side towards the Mediterran sea, where it hath a mountaine like vnto that which enuironeth Carthage. Neere vnto Tunis standeth another high and colde mountaine called Zagoan: inhabitants heere are none at all but a

fewe that tende the Bee-hiues, and gather some quantitie of barly. Vpon the toppe of this mountaine the Romaines built certaine forts, the ruines whereof are yet to be seene, hauing epitaphes engrauen vpon them in Latine letters. From this mountaine vnto Carthage, water is conueighed by certaine passages vnder the ground.[94]

*Of the mountaines of Beni Tefren and Nufusa.*

THese high and colde mountaines are distant from the desert, from Gerbi, and from Asfacus almost thirtie miles, and yeelde very small store of barly. The inhabitants being valiant, and renouncing the law of Mahumet, do follow the doctrine of the patriarke of Cairaoan in most points, neither is there any other nation among the Arabians that obserue the same doctrine. In Tunis and other cities these people earne their liuing by most base occupations, neither dare they openly professe their religion.[95]

*Of mount Garian.*

THis high and cold mountaine containing in length fortie & in bredth fifteene miles, and being separated from other mountaines by a sandie desert, is distant from Tripolis almost fiftie miles. It yeeldeth great plentie of barly and of dates, which vnlesse they be spent while they are new, will soon prooue rotten. Heere are likewise abundance of oliues: Wherefore from this mountaine unto Alexandria and other cities there is much oile conueighed. There is not better saffron to be found in any part of the world besides, which in regard of the goodnesse is solde very deere. For yeerely tribute there is gathered out of this mountaine threescore thousand ducates, and as much saffron as fifteene mules can carrie. They are continually oppressed with the exactions of the Arabians, and of the king of Tunis. They haue certaine base villages vpon this mountaine.[96]

*Most excellent saffron.*

*Of mount Beni Guarid.*

THis mountaine being almost an hundred miles distant from Tripolis, is inhabited with most valiant & stout people, which liue at their owne libertie, and are at continual war with the people of the next mountaines, & of the Numidian desert.[97]

*Of the castle called Casr Acmed.*

THis castle builte vpon he Mediterran sea by a captaine which came with an armie into Africa, standeth not farre from Tripolis, and was at the last laide waste by the Arabians.[98]

*Of the castle of Subeica.*

THe castle of Subeica erected about the same time when the Mahumetans came into Africa, was in times past wel furnished with inhabitants, being afterward destroied by the Arabians, and nowe it harboreth a fewe fishers onely.[99]

*Of the castle called Casr Hessin.*

THis castle was founded by the Mahumetans vpon the Mediterran sea, and was afterward destroyed by the Arabians.[100]

*Here endeth the fifth booke.*

# NOTES TO BOOK V.

(1) Bujaia, Bejaia, the modern Bugia, or Bougie, an ancient kingdom now part of Algeria. Its history is identical with that of the city of same name, which was for so long its capital and a seat of the Arabic learning. One of the most beautifully situated spots in the world, it seems to have been occupied at a very early date. The Carthaginians had an emporium here, and a colony was established in this place by Augustus, under the name of Saldæ, or, according to an inscription, Colonia Julia Augusta Saldantum. For a time it was part of the suffragan kingdom of Juba II, and until ruined by the Arab invasion must have been an important centre. In A.D. 484 Paschasin, its bishop, took part in the Council of Carthage convoked by Hunerik. Even after the Vandals captured it, Guraïa (mountain), as they re-named it (and the name is still retained for a hill in the vicinity), remained their capital until the taking of Carthage. En-Naser (A.H. 460, A.D. 1067-1068), called it (according to Ibn Khaldoun) after himself, En-Naceria, after he made it his capital, though all the world spoke of it as "Bedjaïa, the name of a tribe". His son, El-Mansur, by the help of 1,100 artizans sent here by the Pope, with whom he was on excellent terms, still further beautified "the mountain" city. Under the Almohades, Beni-Hafs, Beni-Merini, Beni-Zeiyan, and again under the Beni-Hafs (who held it until 5th January 1510, when Pedro Navarro captured it), Bougie enjoyed a chequered prosperity. After the repulse of Charles V at Algiers (1545), the Algerines, under Saleh Reis, so far took courage as to compel the Spaniards to surrender (1555). After this Bougie continued in their hands, gradually decaying, until on the 29th Sept. 1833, it was easily occupied by the French. The King of Tunis who recovered Bougie from the Beni-Zeiyan of Tlemsen was Abu Fares (p. 691), who died A.H. 837 (A.D. 1414). The division of his empire among three sons is mentioned by Marmol, copying Leo. These sons were Abu Abd Allah Abd el-Aziz ("Habdulhaziz")—who, according to El-Kairouâni (*Hist. de l'Afrique*, trans. Pellissier et Rémusat, p. 260), succeeded him in the government of Tunis, no mention being made of the civil wars—Othman ("Hutmen"), and Omar ("Hammare"), who was captured in Sphax ("Asfacos"). It was not Othman, but Abd er-Rahman, a descendant of that Prince, who had to surrender to Pedro Navarro in 1510, though in reality his nephew, Abd Allah, who had

been dethroned by his uncle, was the legitimate sovereign.—Pellissier, "Memoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Algérie" (*Expl. scientifique de l'Algérie*, t. vi, pp. 14, 22, 84); Lapene, *Vingt-six mois à Bougie, ou Collection de Mémoires sur sa Conquête*, etc., pp. 4-7; Feraud, "Histoire de Bougie", *Rec. de Not. et Mém. Soc. Arch. Constantine*, 1869, pp. 85-408, etc.; Letter of Ferdinand the Catholic to Count Don Pedro Navarro, Captain-General in Africa, De la Primaudace, *Hist. de l'occupation Espagnole en Afrique* (1506-1574), p. 14.

(2) This was probably the fort erected by En-Naser and destroyed by the Spaniards. Its former name was Borj el-Ahmar—"the red fort". At a later date it was re-erected and called Borj bu-laila, that is, the fort erected in a single night. The ground in the vicinity is covered with stones and earth of a brownish-red colour, testifying to the origin of its primitive name. In the Azuagues, whom Marmol speaks of as the Berbers in the vicinity of Bougie, Feraud recognises the Bene-Azak (Iazaguen), *Revue Africaine*, t. ii, 458, t. iii, 45, 296.

For "plaster work", mosaics (musaiche) is the proper rendering. "Stufe", stove rooms (baths), is omitted in the translation.

(3) The date of Pedro Navarro capturing Bougie is given by Leo as A.H. 917, and Marmol affirms that the town was thirty-five years "in the power of the Kings of Castile". In reality, both dates are wrong, for the Spaniards, as we have seen, took Bougie in 1510, and lost it in 1555.

(4) Jejel, Jijelly, built on the site of the Roman Colonia Igilgilis. —Feraud, "Hist. de Gigelli", *Rec. de Not. et Mém. Soc. Arch. Const.*, vol. xiv, p. 1.

(5) M'sila, the Messeelah of Shaw, on the southern skirts of El-Huthna. It is the El-Mesila of Abu-l-feda, who says that it was "a modern town built by the Fatimites of Egypt". El-Azzi asserts that its founder was Kâim-Billa, the Fatemite (A.H. 315), who called it El-Mohammadiyya. According to him it was a "superb city", plentifully supplied with water. Hence its name, M'sila, which means "watered by a stream". El-Bekri is equally lavish in his praise of M'sila, and speaks of the beauty of the peach, apricot, and other fruit-tree gardens around it. Though the climate was too cold for dates, cotton was grown. Ibn Haukel gives Wad Seker as the name of the river by which it stands, and also notes cotton, wheat and barley among its crops, adding that horses, cattle, and sheep were very plentiful on the mountain pastures. The Algerines kept a small garrison here.—Dureau de la Malle, *Province de Constantine; Recueil de Renseignements pour l'expédition ou l'établissement des Français dans cette partie de l'Afrique septentrionale* (1837), p. 73.

(6) Setif, the Setifis Colonia of the Romans, and the capital of Mauritania Setifensis. Recently disinterred inscriptions show that it was also called Augusta Martialis, and Colonia Nerviana. It was the seat of a bishop. Though frequently plundered by the Vandals and Arabs, and in 419 almost ruined by an earthquake, of which St. Augustine takes notice, El-Bekri described the city of his day as well populated and flourishing. The present town, which lies 3,573 feet above sea level, is entirely modern.

(7) Nekaus, Nigaous, Mgaous, Nic-kowse of Shaw, "Ben-cowse as the Turks call it, where there is a garrison of one Suffrah [a company of about twenty], a mud-walled rampart, and three pieces of cannon". Their patron saint was, and is, Sidi Laffan, in that day so popular that out of the revenues of his sanctuary two hundred Talibs were supported. The rivulet (Wad Barika) which runs past is so impregnated with nitrous particles from the soil, as to be unfit for domestic purposes. A rival to the Rusgunia (p. 698) tale of the Seven Sleepers is pointed out here in the shape of a ruined city—out of the pillars of which they build houses—and the actual tombs of the legendary youths, the Mosque of the Seven Sleepers, is divided by three lines of columns, two of which bear inscriptions.

Mannert considered the ruins from which these columns were taken to be those of Ad oculum Marinum. The shade of trees and beautiful fountains of Nekaus impart to it the materials for an attractive town, built for the most part of "tob" or sun-dried bricks.

(8) Collo, El-Kollo, the Kollops Magnus (Κούλλου or Κόλλοψ μέγας) of Ptolemy, the Chulli municipium of the *Antonine Itinerary*, the Colonia Minervia Chullu and Colonia Chullitana of inscriptions found here. Pliny and Solinus write the name Cullu, and in the list of bishops the same orthography is used.—Mercelli, *Africa Christiana.*

The Arab historians refer to the Mersa el-Collo, the Ancollo of the older geographers.

The town is now an unimportant native trading place of 2,000-3,000 inhabitants. It was at Collo that Pedro of Aragon landed, on the 28th June 1282 (A.H. 681), nominally to help Abu Bekr Ibn Uizer, governor of Constantine, in his war against his brother, the King of Tunis —though actually to mask his own designs against the House of Anjou —*El-Kairouâni*, pp. 249 *et seq.* Pellissier, *Mém. hist. et géographiques sur l'Algérie*, pp. 5-6; Zureta, *Annales d'Aragon*, l. iv, etc. Solinus mentions Culla as a flourishing centre for purple-dyeing, a prosperity which it maintained in wax and leather to the Middle Ages, when the Pisans and Genoese did a great traffic with the mountain Berbers and plain Arabs, who met here on neutral ground. As late as 1684-1685,

it was one of the principal posts of the French African Company, but it never recovered from the rise of Philippeville.

(9) Skidda, the ancient Rusicada, the modern Philippeville. The ancient city appears to have been dedicated to Venus, and the name to have been derived from the Phœnician Rus Cicar, or Rus Saddeh (the Cape of the Plain), from which comes the Arabic Ras Skidda. Scylax, however, speaks of Tapsus, a Phœnician town, having preceded the Roman one. In that case the etymology given above is scarcely acceptable. Possibly, however, the Saf-saf River, which falls into the sea at this point, may be a corruption of Tapsus? Sucaicada may be Suk el-Ahda—the Sunday market?—Playfair, *Algeria*, p. 119; Piesse, *Algérie*, p. 247. The archæological treasures discovered are numerous and of great interest.

(10) Constantine (Cuçtin of Marmol)—the Kosantina or Kostantina of the Arabs, which name it owes to Flavius Constantinus, who, after the town had been wrecked in A.D. 311 in the war of Maxentius against Lucius Domitius Alexander, restored and embellished it, is perhaps to the historian and archæologist the most interesting town in Algeria, and has had such full justice done as to make any general note upon it superfluous.

It was the Kerth of the Massylanean kings, and up to 311 the Certa Sitianorum, or Cirta Juliana, of the Romans. The "blacke stones" which Leo described as embedded in the walls of Constantine, and as paving the road between that city and Philippeville, must have been slabs of the volcanic rock of the Hamman Meskutin, which stretches to Constantine.—Shaw, *Travels*, p. 127; Poiret, *Voyage en Barbarie*, t. i, p. 166; De la Malle, *Constantine*, p. 46.

(11) The Rummel. The Sufegmare is also called the Sufmare. Both names are variants of the Arab Sufjim-mar.—De la Malle, *Constantine*, pp. 25, 35, 45; Hebenstreit, *Nouv. ann. des Voyages*, t. xlvi, p. 64.

Marmol calls the river the Sufegmar or Bumarzoc. There is a Wad Ramleh, pronounced indifferently Wad Rummel, near Taguira or Tripoli. It means, according to the Beecheys, "sandy river or sandy valley".—*Proceedings of the Expedition to explore the Northern Coast of Africa*, p. 41, with *Corpus Inscrip. Lat.* (1881), vol. vii, and Boissiere, *L'Algérie Romaine*, 2 vols. (1883), *passim*, for the Roman antiquities of Algeria.

(12) The King of Tunis "that now is" must have been Mulai Mohammed, who reigned from A.D. 1488 to A.D. 1526. Marmol, who copies Leo's account of the transactions described, adds in a note that he was the grandfather of Mulai Hassan. This could not be;

for Mulai Mohammed succeeded his cousin, and Mulai Hassan succeeded his father Mohammed, whose reign extended over more than the entire period of which Leo had any personal knowledge.

(13) The "strong castle" strengthened by El-Kaïd Nabil was the old Kasba which dates back to the Romans, and, though rebuilt, is still the French citadel.

(14) The ruins of this arch were standing at the time Shaw wrote :— "Among the ruins to the south-west of the bridge, upon the narrow strip of land just now described, we have the greatest part of a triumphal arch called *The* (*Cassir Goulah*) *Castle* (as they interpret it) *of the Giant*, consisting of three arches, the middlemost of which is the most spacious. All the Mouldings and Frizes are curiously embellished with the Figures of Flowers, Battle Axes, and other Ornaments. The *Corinthian* Pilasters, erected on each side of the grand Arch, are panelled, like the side-posts of the Gates of the City, in a *Gusto*, as far as I have observed, peculiar to *Certa* ; but the Pillars of the same Order, which supported the Pediment, are broken down and defaced." —*Travels*, etc., 1st ed., p. 128. The Ksar Gula, or "giant's castle", was perhaps part of the hippodrome, the remains of which were cleared away when the railway station was built.

(15) This passage is extremely absurd in Pory's translation. For the word "tartarughe" (turtles, *Clemmys leprosa* (Schweigger) the common little fresh-water species of Barbary) is Englished "snailes", though Florianus translates "infinita quantità di tartarughe" as "testudinum copia". Probably neither Florian nor Pory ever saw a tortoise or turtle. The turtles are still found in the hot water pools, though, since most of these have been utilised for baths, no longer as plentifully as before. Shaw described the "Kabat beer a-haal"—a "neat transparent fountain"—as "full of tortoises". The superstitions described were commoner in his day, but are not yet extinct.

(16) This building does not now exist, having apparently, like so many Roman and Arab works, been destroyed to furnish materials for the rococo palaces of the Turkish beys.—For historical notes, *cf.* Feraud, *Rec. de Not. et Mém. Soc. Arch. Constantine*, vol. xiii, p. 1, etc.

(17) Mila, the Roman colony of Milevum or Milev—"Colonia Sarnenis" (from the river Sarnus close by) "Milevitana". El Bekri described it as one of the principal towns of the province of Zab, and in other respects gave much the same information as Leo. Edrisi also refers to the trees and forests in the Mila gardens. Ibn Khaldoun mentions it among the towns belonging to the powerful Berber tribe of Ketama. As the residence of Saint Optat, an eminent father of the African Church, "Milevin" enjoyed a prominent position during the

early days of Christianity, and within its walls councils were held in 402 and 406. The Roman fountain, bubbling up in the centre of the town into a square basin, is still one of the sights of the place. The fruits, especially the pomegranates, are so fine that it is thought the town derived its name from them. Constantine is still largely supplied with vegetables and fruit from Mila—now a French city with a Berber quarter.—Tissot, *Géog. Comp. de la Province Romaine d'Afrique*, t. ii, pp. 406, 407.

(18) Annaba, Bona, Hippo Regius, Hippene, hence Bone, the modern name. A Berber village rose on its ruins, which in the time of El-Bekri bore the name of Medina Zaui. But the same geographer refers to it as Bona, and mentions that the place had received the designation of Bonat el-Jadida (the New Bona). Bled el-Anab, or Annaba, seems to date from the sixteenth century. There is some foundation for the belief that the city was the still more ancient Aphrodisium, which some Arabic writers call Bouna. Ibn Haukel, writing in A.D. 970, describes it as having many bazaars, fine gardens, and abundance of everything, including mines of iron ; so that by attaching the Berbers to his person, the governor of the town was independent ; it was not, however, walled until A.D. 1058. Bone was a seat of some early Berber dynasties, which probably gave it the name of royal—"et antiquis dilectus regibus Hippo" (*Silius Italicus*, iii, v, 259). The Vandals do not appear to have ruined it, for Procopius refers to it in 534 as a strong place. By the time the Byzantine historian took notice of it, the second word seems to have become part of the name—Ἱπποναρέγις.—Temple, *Excursions*, etc., vol. i, pp. 64-80.

(19) In 1152-53 a fleet sent by King Roger of Sicily, under the command of Philip of Mehedia, captured Bone and reduced the inhabitants to slavery. In A.D. 1249 the town was in the hands of the Hafsidi Sultan of Tunis, and a century later fell to Abu-l-Hassan, the Merinide (Beni-Merini). Towards the beginning of the sixteenth century the Tunisians again recovered it. In 1535 Kheir ed-Din garrisoned it, but the Turks evacuated the place on the capture of Tunis by Charles V. A Genoese garrison under Alvar Zagal took their place. But these free-lances, after having destroyed the fortifications, retired on the death of their commander, when the Tunisians once more entered, only in their turn to give way to the Algerine Turks. After the French obtained possession of Algiers in 1830, the people of Bone threw off their allegiance to the Bey of Constantine, and became subject to France.

Othman, the third Khalif, completed what the Vandals (Goths) left undone. Leo only refers to St. Augustine as having been Bishop of Hippo. But here also he died in 431, during the long siege of the city

by the Vandals, and in the Basilica of the city where he had resided for thirty-five years he was buried. Removed to Cagliari, his remains lay there for 223 years, until they were transferred to Pavia, where, with the exception of an arm which was taken to Bône in 1842, they still lie.

(20) The town is now well supplied with water from the Jebel Edough, though, as the remains of the cistern and aqueduct show, the Romans had tapped the same sources.

(21) Coral fishing is one of the most ancient industries of the coast. La Calle—Borj el-Kala—a short distance from the Tunisian frontier, was frequented for this purpose as early as A.D. 960; and, as Pliny mentions the rich coral fisheries hereabouts, it was, no doubt, still earlier a seat of this trade. The Bastion de France was built in a little bay west of the town for the convenience of the industry, and about as absolutely unscrupulous a set of scoundrels were engaged in it as can well be imagined.—Playfair, *Algeria and Tunis*, pp. 126, 127, and *The Scourge of Christendom*, pp. 239-241; Poiret, *Voyage en Barbarie*, t. i, pp. 6-24; Du Thiers Lacaze, *Hist. Nat. du Corail; organisation, réproduction, pêche en Algérie et industrie* (1864); De Cuverville de Cavalier, "La pêche du corail sur les côtes de l'Algérie" (*Rev. Maritime et Colon.*, 1875, pp. 404-43; pp. 657-87), etc. The locality referred to by Leo was probably the same—the Mers el-Jun of Edrisi, the Mers el-kharaz of El-Bekri, noted by both authors as seats of the coral fishery. The spot is close to Cape Rosa, still, or until very recently, noted for the beauty and abundance of its coral.—Shaw, *Travels*, p. 98; De la Malle, *Constantine*, p. 100.

(22) Tifesh, the Tefacet of the Arabs, the ancient Tipasa referred to by El-Bekri as a place of great antiquity, containing many ancient ruins. It resisted the Arab invaders of Africa for a long time, but was finally ruined and rebuilt later. Musa en-Naser destroyed it a second time, and after rising from its ashes it fell, A.D. 1057, under the displeasure of Mulai Nazer, son of the King of Tunis.—Tissot, *La Province Romaine d'Afrique*, t. ii, pp. 387, 389.

(23) A Roman station at least as early as the reign of Vespasian, when it was called Theveste (Civitas Thevestinorum). It was one of the earliest seats of an African bishopric, and here Saints Maximilian and Crispin suffered martyrdom. An Arab tradition says that Tebessa was taken by Okba in A.H. 45. At present the numerous Roman remains, scattered in or about the town, are its chief sources of interest. It is watered by a tributary of the Wad Chabroa, the "great river" of Leo, which in its turn is an affluent of the Wad Meskiana. The modern town is really contained within the ancient Byzantine citadel, the walls of which, as described by Leo are still in

tolerable preservation, though Playfair considers—justly, no doubt—built of still older materials.—Playfair, *Travels in the Footsteps of Bruce*, pp. 103, 399; Sériziat, "Etudes sur Tebessa et ses environs", *Bull. de l'Acad. d'Hippone*, No. 22 (1887), pp. 27-66.

The chastisement described was inflicted in A.D. 1510, and therefore in the reign of Mulai Abu Abd'Allah Mohammed of Tunis. It is not mentioned by El-Kairouâni.

(24) Urbs is perhaps a misprint, or a misreading of the editor for El-Orbes (El-Kairouâni, p. 249, etc.), the ancient Lares (ablative Laribus), the Laribus of Procopius (*De Bello Vandalico*, II, 23).

Edrisi also refers to Arbes, *i.e.*, Loribus, or Laribus, or Lares, and Ebn Haukal writes of Obba (the modern Ebba), and Al-Orbos.—Marmol, *L'Afrique*, t. ii, 449; Mannert, *Géog. Ancienne des Etats Barbaresques* (ed. Marcus et Duesberg), pp. 394, 687, 688; Guérin, *Voyage Archéologique dans la Régence de Tunis*, t. ii, pp. 86, 87; Tissot, *La Province Romaine*, t. ii, 454, 459.

(25) Beja, El-Beja, the Roman Vacca, or Vaga, was as early as Sallust's day a busy mercantile centre. It is the Βάγα of Procopius (the β pronounced as the *V* in Latin), the Oppidum Vagense of Pliny, the Colonia Septima Vaga of the inscription on a stone built in the mosque of Sidina Aïssa ("Our Lord Jesus"), formerly a Christian basilica. Edrisi speaks of it as a great corn market, and El-Bekri declares that it took 1,000 camels and other beasts of burden to carry off the surplus grain offered for sale in Beja. It was the seat of a bishop.—Guérin, *Voyage Archéologique dans la Régence de Tunis*, t. ii, pp. 38-49; Tissot, *La Province Romaine*, t. ii, pp. 6, 302; Playfair, *Travels in the Footsteps of Bruce*, pp. 232-237. Cagnat, *Revue Archéologique*, t. i, pp. 39-46, etc.

(26) Perhaps Ain Samsed—cold spring. Destroyed in Leo's day, its site cannot now be identified.

(27) Kasba="the castle".

(28) Destroyed before Leo's day. It cannot now be identified with any certainty. The name of "Coros" seems to have vanished.

(29) Bizerta, a corruption of the Arabic Benzert, which appears again to be derived from Hippo Zarytus, or Diarrhytus, its name during its period as a Roman colony, to distinguish it from Hippo Regius (p. 750)—"Col. ivliae. Hipp. Diarr.", according to an inscription on a stone built into the wall of the Bordj Sidi Bu Hadid or "Spanish fort". Before this it was a Tyrian colony. The "lake" (Mazuka of the Arabs, Hipponitus Pallus of the Romans) still teems with fish, as it did in Leo's day. The exclusive right of fishing here,

at Golette, and at Porto Farina, is let by the Tunisian government for a large annual rent. In two days Sir Lambert Playfair saw 10,000 dorados, weighing about ten tons, and worth about £400 in Tunis, taken from the outer lake, and 5,000 large mullets, worth £100, caught in the Tinja Channel (Wad Tinja) between the two lakes.

(30) From what Leo says it would seem that four centuries ago there was still some of Carthage standing. El-Bekri describes the cisterns, the gymnasium, the aqueduct, the theatre, and the port as still in existence or easily traceable. Edrisi, a century and a half later, notices the same monuments of the city's greatness. But in addition vast ruins everywhere met the eye. For though Hassan ben el-Numan, a general of the Kalif Abdul Melik, is said to have entirely destroyed it in A.D. 706 (A.D. 689, or A.D. 694, according to other versions), that was a figure of speech. It was not in the power of anyone, far less the Arabs of twelve centuries ago, to have as completely effaced the Roman Carthage as the Romans razed the Punic city which preceded it. They simply burnt what would burn, and gutted temples and private houses. But for generations subsequently the Arabs pulled down walls and dug out cellars in search of hidden treasure, of which to this day amazing oriental tales are told (Davies, *Carthage*, pp. 38, 41). Indeed, until the crusade in which St. Louis fell in 1270, the ruined town was not abandoned by Arabs of a higher type than the poor wretches who live and stable their cattle in the cisterns at Malka. Even in Leo's day there were 500 houses, and about 25 shops, a mosque and a school. Yet down to a comparatively recent date, the ruins of Carthage formed an unexhausted mine of wrought marble for the Tunisians, the Pisans, and the Genoese. They provided, for instance, a store of materials for Ahmed Bey's palace at Constantine. Scarcely a ship came to Goletta but it carried off a load of the marble out of which so much of Carthage had been built. When Bruce visited it in 1765 little remained except "the cisterns, aqueduct, and a magnificent flight of steps up to the temple of Æsculapius". At present the two first of these objects are all that appear above ground, and the many excavations have not of late revealed much more under the surface.

(31) "Lago della Goletta", erroneously translated "Lake of Tunis", is the ancient Stagnum. The Gulf of Tunis proper is the old Sinus Carthaginensis. A canal is now cut through the shallow lake (El-Bahira) from Goletta (Halk el-Wad) to Tunis. Pory has added "1526" as the date when Leo wrote this brief description of Carthage. He must, however, have been there some time before 1520: for 1526 is simply the date of his Italian MS., which was written some years after he had been in Rome (see *Introduction*).

(32) Here a characteristic trait of the Barbary sovereigns is omitted in the translation. For Leo explains that the reason for the Carthage College having no pupils was that the revenues might go to the king's court—"dimodoche l'entrata è della Camera del rè". He adds, in mentioning the exactions of the king on the residents of Carthage—"che niuno può esser padrone di dieci ducati: la cui ingiuztizia a tutti è nota". The injustice of the king, and the difficulty of anyone becoming master of ten ducats, are old tales in Tunis.

(33) This statement, which is also made by Edrisi (ed. Hartmann, p. 264), is evidently a fable due to the error of some copyist who has altered "Tounes" into "Tharsis" or Larsio. Such blunders are easily made in Arabic.—Castiglioni, *Mém. Géog. et Numismatique sur la Partie Orientale de la Barbarie*, etc., p. 37.

(34) Kairwan was founded by Okba ben Nafi ben Abdullah ben Kais el-Fahri, A.D. 675 (A.H. 55). The passage is obviously mistranslated. It is in the original "un Capitano detto Ucba di Utmen quarto pontefice". Okba was not a khalif, but as the text quite accurately states, a captain of Othman, the third Khalif.

(35) Yussuf Ibn Tashfin, A.H. 453 (A.D. 1061).

(36) Abd el-Mumen took Mehdia from Roger II of Sicily in A.D. 1160 (A.H. 555), leaving Ifrîkia to the feeble Hassan Ibn Ali, the last prince of the Beni-Menâd Senhaja, whom he re-established as his vassal.

(37) These sovereigns were: Abu Yakub Yussuf (Joseph) and Abu Yussuf Yakub (Jacob). El-Mansur *was* Jacob. His son was Mohammed en-Naser (Mahomet Ennasir). The blunder is in Leo's original Italian, "e i discendenti Giacob e Mansor". Yussuf el-Mostansir was the son, not the brother, of En-Naser.

(38) Abu Mohammed Abd el-Wahed ben Abu Hafs.

(39) Abu Zakaria Yahia (A.D. 1228). He built the Kasba and its mosque in Tunis.

(40) Abd Allah Mohammed el-Mustamer. His father had in reality (A.H. 639, A.D. 1242) made himself master of Tlemsen during the reign of Iagnum ben-Zeiyan (El-Kairouâni, p. 220).

(41) Bab Suwaika—in original Beb Suvaica—on the north, leading to Susa and the coast.

(42) Beb el-Manera in the original. It does not now exist, or at least not under that name.

(43) Bab el-Bahr, on the east—the "sea gate" proper, opening to the lake—"lago della Goletta", not "Gulf of Tunis" as translated.

The other gates are the Bab el-Hathera, the Bab Abd er-Salem, and the Bab es-Sajen, the Bab Sidi Abdullah, and the Bab Sidi Alewa, leading to Zaghuan.

The Bab es-Silsah, near the Kasbah, under which it was death for a Christian to pass, is now closed.

(44) Textile work is still the chief manufacturing industry of Tunis. The kind of spinning described may still be occasionally seen in the old Moorish streets.

(45) Besis, el-Bezin, Zūmeita, Mogatta, Bweeda, Fetaat, etc., are dishes of which the chief ingredient is flour or some other form of farina. They are still commonly used among the Arab and Berber races. The making of Bezin (Bazeen, in Fezzan called Aseeda) is minutely described by Lyon, *Travels in Northern Africa*, pp. 49-50.

(46) The description given by Leo still applies; though the occupation of Tunis by the French has naturally altered the city, the court, and in many respects the habits of the people, etc.

"Lhasis" (*ihasis* in the original Italian) is "hashish", or Indian hemp.

(47) "Il ducato d'oro."

(48) "Dobble", dobla—a pistole. For Tunisian weights, measures, and corn, *cf.* Dusgato, *Notice sur les poids, mesures, et monnaies de Tunis* (1832).

(49) Napoli in the original Italian, Nabel, a corruption of the Arabic Nabel el-Kedima (the old Nabel), the Neapolis (Νεάπολις) noticed by Thucydides, Strabo, Scylax, Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, and Ptolemy; the Colonia Julia Neapolis of inscriptions. It was captured by Agathocles in A.D. 309. It seems from the ruins, however, to have been previously a Carthaginian station. It is now a town of 5,000 people, mostly occupied in making the pottery for which it is famous. Under the Romans it seems to have been a place of some importance; but it early began to decay, for Edrisi notes that in his day it was of little account.

(50) Kamart, where there are several Arab country houses, amid olives and gardens, and a ruined palace. Close by is Cape Kamart.

(51) Now a collection of villas and gardens belonging to the Consuls and other well-to-do residents of Tunis, with a few cafés, etc. Near this quarter was one of the principal necropoles of ancient Carthage. Hartmann (Edrisi, *Africa*, p. 273) imagines it to be a city.

(52) At present merely a village, notable for its villas belonging

to wealthy Arabs and Europeans connected by business with Tunis, and for its pretty gardens—hence the name "Reihan" (the Sweet-smelling). The locality in the vicinity of Carthage mentioned by Procopius (*De Bello Vandalico*, I, liv) as Ad Decimum, must, Mannert considers, have nearly covered the site of Ariana (Mannert, *Géog. Anc.*, ed. Marcus et Duesberg, p. 685). But Tissot contends very positively, though not very satisfactorily, that this spot was in the defile of Sidi Fathallah—the scene of the first victory of Belisarius over the Vandals.

(53) Arab Hammâma. The town does some trade in lemons and olive oil.

(54) Hergla, Herkla, the Heraclea of the lower Empire: *not* the Hadrumetum, as Shaw "conjectured", but the Horrea Cælia, of the *Antonine Itinerary*.

(55) Susa or Suse, a former Carthaginian station, the Roman Hadrumetum. It was destroyed by the Vandals, restored by Justinian, and ruined a second time by Okba, who used the material for the construction of Kairwan. The Aghlabites restored the place, which was attacked by Charles V in 1537 and by Andrea Doria in 1539. It is now one of the most flourishing towns of Tunisia. Leo wrongly describes it as built on a plain: its site is a slope, rising to the plain through which Kairwan is reached.

(56) Monastir, Mistir (the Roman Rushina, the Ῥουσπίνα of Ptolemy, the Ῥουσπῖνον of Strabo) is a pleasant place embosomed amid olive groves, which impart a dark green shade to the shore. Davis (*Ruined Cities within the Numidian and Carthaginian Territories*, p. 321), in adopting Castiglione's and Banks's idea that Monastir was built by Christians, and was a site of one of the monasteries (μόναστηριον), which the Arabs transformed into "Mahres" or "rabat", is most likely in error. El-Bekri attributes the foundation of the part-Roman town to Harthema ibn Aïen (A.H. 180, A.D. 796, 797), and notes that in his day it was a favourite place of retirement for holy men. Hence the number of tombs of saints within and without its walls—a circumstance which led En-Naser to call Monastir "the best of sepulchres and the worst of habitations".—Gubernatis, *Lettere sulla Tunisia*, pp. 191, 192; Barth, *Küstenländer des Mittelmeeres*, p. 159; Guérin, *Voyage Archéologique*, t. i, pp. 119, 124.

(57) Teboulba, Tbourba, the Thuburbo minus, Thuburbi minus of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (ed. G. Harini, 1654), Tuburbo minus of the *Antonine Itinerary*. The orthography Thuburbo is according to an inscription. This little Arab town does not occupy more than a small part of the old site. It was founded towards the close of the fifteenth

century by a colony of expatriated Spanish Moors.—Tissot, *La Province Romaine*, vol. ii, pp. 247, 248; Barth, *Küstenländer des Mittelmeeres*, p. 349; Guérin, *Voyage Archéologique*, t. i, p. 129.

(58) Mehediyya (variously spelt Mehdia, Mehedia, Mahdia, Mahadia, El-Medea) was a Phœnician emporium, as the many tombs to the north of the town demonstrate. It was founded, according to the current belief, as his maritime capital, by the founder of the Obeidite empire —Obeïd Allah el-Mahdi (A.H. 300, A.D. 912-913), who gave it his own title. But the defaced capitals and other pieces of ancient masonry show that Obeïd was really built on a Roman site. This place may have been Alipota (or Salipota), and not Sullectum, or Salecto, which must be sought for at Salekta. But either there or at Mehdia was the Turris Hannibalis, where Hannibal embarked after his flight from Carthage. Shaw (p. 193), who was the first to make this suggestion, founded his identification on a passage in Livy (xxxii, xlviii), "postero die mane inter Achollam [*El-Alea*] et Thapsum [*Henchir ed-Dimas*] ad suam turrim pervenit".

Davis (*Ruined Cities*, etc., p. 302) imagines—"proves", he contends —that Mehdia was Thapsus.

(59) Sigelmessa (Sijilmassa) was at that period (A.D. 909) the seat of El-Isâa, the sovereign of the petty kingdom of the Beni-Medran, which exercised authority over the Meknasian tribes of the upper Muluïa.—Fournel, *Berbers*, t. ii, pp. 30-98.

(60) Abu Yezid, son of Makled ben Keïdad, a Zeneta of the tribe of Beni-Ifren, a mulatto who had studied under the Mokaddem of the Abu Ammar at Takius and Tuzer. His revolt in Ifrîkia was in A.D. 942, when El-Kâim was Khalif, and not El-Mahdi as the text implies. But Abu Yezid was finally crushed and slain (A.D. 947) in the reign of El-Kâim's successor Ismaïl el-Mansur.

(61) Mehdia was captured by Roger II of Sicily in A.D. 1147, and recaptured by Abd el-Mumen in 1160.

(62) In the reign of Richard II (1390), the Duke of Bourbon, who (as Froissart and Holinshed tell) was accompanied by several English knights, laid siege to it, but disease breaking out, he returned without taking "Africa", as Mehdia was often called. In 1519 Pedro Navarro also made a fruitless attempt on it; but in 1551 Charles V, aided by the Knights of Malta, seized the place.—Stella, *De Aphrodisio expugnato quod vulgo (Aphricam) vocant, Commentarius* (1552); Nucula, *De bello Aphrodisiensi*, 1552 (the former idea being that Mehdia was the ancient Aphrodisium); Salazar, *Historia de la Guerra y presa de Africa*, 1552, etc.; *Rerum a Carolo V Cæsare Augusto in Africa bello gestarum*, etc.; 1155 (several narratives).

A tomb of one of the knights who died here still exists. It is, however, curious that until lately the Mehdia people buried all their dead at Monastir. El-Bekri and Edrisi praise the splendours of Mehdia. The French have much improved the place (both from a sanitary and a commercial point of view), but of ancient glories there are few traces.—Guérin, *Voyage Archéologique*, t. i, pp. 131-144; Tissot, *La Province Romaine*, t. ii, pp. 176-178; Castiglioni, *Mémoire sur Afrikia*, pp. 5-29; Piesse, *Algérie et Tunisie*, pp. 451, 453.

(63) Sfax, or Sfakes, "the city of cucumbers", the ancient Taphura, or Taparura, the seat of a bishop—the Episcopus Taprurensis. It is now a prosperous town of more than 32,000 people, and certainly more deserving of the praise bestowed upon it by El-Bekri and Edrisi than in Leo's day.—De Clam, *Fastes Chronologiques de la ville de Sfaks* (1890); Lafitte et Servonnet, *Golfe de Gabes en* 1888, pp. 12-87; Graham and Ashbee, *Travels in Tunisia* (1887), pp. 92-95, etc.

(64) Kairwan, Kairawan, Kairouan, Kerouan, "Carvan, named properly in Arabic Cayraven" (Marmol), was often confounded by the older writers with Cyrene, a place more than 600 miles to the east, and occupying a site now called Grenna. The reason is that it was called Kuren, which is the same word as "Cairoan", pronounced with the first vowel short, according to the vulgar accent, and with the guttural sound of *qâf*, approaching that of *g*, before the letter *r*. —Castiglioni, *Mémoire*, etc., p. 30.

Kairwan (to use the English pronunciation) is, however, now a well-known city, though until the French occupation of it in 1881, *tabu* to Jews and Christians, except with a special permit from the Bey; and even then the curious visitor had to run the risk of rough treatment in this holy city of Islam. Now it is possible to visit it without any difficulty, and even to trundle from Susa over a tramway built for the use of the military authorities.

Abd er-Rahman Ibn Abd el-Hakem, the oldest historian of the Arab invasions of Northern Africa, credits Moawiya ibn Hodeij with having founded the city, and Okba ben Nefa with having enlarged it. For "here", he exclaimed, "will be our Kairwan!"—or caravan station. But En-Nuaïri and most other chroniclers attribute its foundation to Okba, A.H. 50 (A.D. 669-70), in the Khalifate of Moawiya I, in the presence of eighteen "Companions" of the Prophet, who, St. Patrick-like, ordered all snakes and wild beasts to disappear from the spot: a mandate indifferently obeyed, since the plain is not free from either.

In all likelihood, however, the Arabs merely built on a Roman foundation.

The Vicus Augusti, one of the episcopal cities of Byzacena, must

have been almost on this spot, while Hauch-Sabra, two miles to the south, has been claimed, and with greater probability, by Berbrugger and Lapie as the site of that station. Nuaïri, indeed, speaks of a castle built by the Greeks and called Kamunea, being on the site chosen for Kairwan, thus by no means confirming the Arab legend about its being all desert. The material of these buildings most probably served for building Okba's new city—the pillars and the mosques being evidently Roman or Byzantine.—Temple, *Excursions*, etc., vol. ii, pp. 92-102; Cagnat, *Explorations*, t. iii, p. 21; Pellissier, *Description de la Régence de Tunisie*, p. 279; Guérin, *Voyage Archéologique*, t. ii, pp. 324-327; Playfair, *Travels*, etc., pp. 167-171; Broadley, *Tunis, Past and Present*, vol. ii, p. 127: Rae, *The Country of the Moors*, pp. 215-313, etc. For some anachronisms in Leo and Marmol, cf. Castiglioni, *Mém. Géog. et Numismatique*, pp. 32, 72.

(65) Okba had been deprived of his government of Ifrîkia (Muchauia = Mauretania) by Moawiya I, and Dinar Abu el-Mohâjer had been appointed in his place. He was restored by Yezid I, on the death of Moawiya in A.D. 680. He retained his position, according to Leo, until the reign of El-Walid I, son of Abd el-Melik, when he was slain by the Berbers who had taken Kairwan: but seeing that El-Walid did not succeed until A.D. 705, and that Okba, by the best accounts, died in 683, that is, during the reign of Abd el-Malik, there is a confusion in Leo's chronology.

(66) Musa ben Noseïr, who arrived at Kairwan A.D. 705 as governor of Ifrîkia. What follows refers to the conquest of Spain by Musa and Tarik (governor of Tangier), and the death of Roderic, King of the Goths, A.D. 710-11. For the history of this last, cf. Al-Makkari, *Hist. of Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, vol. i, pp. 288 *et seq.*

(67) Musa reached Egypt at the close of A.D. 714, when he received this warning from Hishâm ("Hescian"). He came to Damascus two and a half months later, just before the death of El-Walid and the succession of Sulaiman. This Khalif accusing Musa—no doubt with good reason—of peculation, had him beaten with rods, fined him 100,000 pieces of gold, and confiscated all his goods, while Musa's son, 'Abd ul-Azîz (who had been left governor of Spain, and had married Egilone, widow of King Roderic), was put to death, and his head sent to his father. Tarik after this disappears from history. Taking warning by the fate of his colleague and jealous rival, the shrewd Berber seems to have retired into private life. Mohammed ben Yezid ("Iesul") succeeded Musa as governor of Ifrîkia. Leo is too sweeping when he says that the rest of the Ommeyâd governors were related to each other.

(68) The Abasside general, El-Aghlab ("Elagleb"), took possession of Kairwan in the name of the Eastern Khalif. But, as Leo says, "il quale dominò a guisa di signore"—he ruled after the fashion of a prince ("not . . . as a Califa")—and founded the dynasty of the Aghlabites. Abu Jafar el-Mansur founded Baghdad, and made it the capital of the former Khalifate of Damascus.

(69) Obeid Allah, A.D. 903.

(70) En-Nueïri (pp. 424 *et seq.*) says that this great castle—not town—of Rakkada, situated in a very healthy place, four miles from Kairwan, was built during the government (or reign) of Ibrahim ben Ahmed (A.D. 875). When the free negroes rebelled and interrupted communication between Rakkada and Kairwan, they were crucified or put to death in ways equally horrible (Mercier, *Hist. de l'Afrique Sept.*, t. i, p. 290). Rakkada occurs frequently in the history of El-Kairouâni, who wrote about A.D. 1691. But both the name and the building seem now to have disappeared. It was Ibrahim ben Ahmed who completed the conquest of Sicily, begun in 827 A.D. by Ziadet Allah, when the Kadi Ased ("one Ased") was sent with a fleet and army at the request of Euphemios, or Euthymeos of Syracuse (who had rebelled against Michael the Stammerer, and was defeated by an imperial army).

(71) Alcamo, on the post road from Palermo to Calatafimi. Ciullo d'Alcamo, one of the earliest Sicilian poets, was a native of the town.

(72) "Gueflet" is almost certainly Jebel Ouslet, and the Roman remains, those of Aqvae Regiae, close at hand; though little now remains to justify their identification except Leo's description.—Tissot, *La Province Romaine*, t. ii, pp. 586-588.

(73) The history of Kairwan, subsequent to A.D. 1500, it is unnecessary to follow. It varied with the fortunes of the Tunisian dynasties, until Tunis became a protectorate of France, since when, curiously enough, the most fanatical city in the Regency has become the only one in which an infidel can enter a mosque. It has no resources, and lives by its traditions and the souls of its prophets.

(74) Kabes, Gabes, Kapes, Gabs, the ancient Tacape, Tacapa, Tacapae, Tacapas. Leo simply repeats the description of El-Bekri, who describes it as a large town surrounded by a high wall of massive stones of antique construction, with a strong castle, several suburbs, bazaars, and caravanserais, a great mosque, and many baths, the whole within a deep ditch, which in case of need could be flooded. Finally, it had three gates. Edrisi says much the same. Nowadays it consists of several villages, scattered over a beautiful oasis of date palms and

olives. Sidi Bu-l-Baba is perhaps the village which occupies the site of Tacape; like most of the other villages (particularly Menzel and Dhara) it is built of the remains of the Roman town which preceded it. But with the exception of a few mosaics, capitals of columns, and other carved stones, little remains to mark the spot where stood a Carthaginian emporium, a Roman city, and, in the Christian epoch, the residence of the *Episcopus Tacapitanus*. Strabo refers to Tacape as an important entrepôt of the Lesser Syrtes.—Playfair, *Travels*, etc., p. 269; Pellissier, *Revue Archéologique*, 1847, p. 395; Guérin, *Voyages Archéologiques*, t. i, p. 196; Moulezun, *Bull. Arch. du Comité des travaux historiques*, 1885, p. 126; Tissot, *La Province Romaine*, t. ii, p. 196; Shaw, *Travels*, p. 209; Temple, *Excursions*, vol. ii, pp. 133, 134; Lafitte et Servonnet, *Le Golfe de Gabès en* 1888, pp. 216-269.

(75) This is not quite correct, though repeated on p. 334; for the water is both cool and sweet. There is, however, salt and warm water not far away (note 77). The walls have now disappeared.

(76) As far as I can learn, the "habhaziz" (*habb 'azîz*, "the beloved berry") is the ground or pea-nut. But, apart from its not being dug, it is difficult to imagine this fruit being beloved by anyone. The jujube (*Zisyphus lotus*) grows abundantly in the vicinity.

(77) El-Hamma or El-Hammat el-Kabes, "the warm fountain of Kabes" (Gabes), so called to distinguish it from another Hamma near Tôzer, the ancient Aquæ Tacapitanae, the Arab name being thus an exact translation of the ancient one. It is situated in the Hamma Oasis, exactly eighteen Roman miles from Gabes, which is the distance given in the *Antonine Itinerary*.

Shaw, who was the earliest writer to identify the site, mentions that at the date of his visit the hot baths were frequented by invalids from all parts of Tunis. The baths were sheltered from the weather by thatched huts, while in the basins, which are about 12 feet square and 4 feet deep, there were benches of stone for the bathers to sit upon. One of the baths was called the Bath of the Lepers. Below it the water stagnates and forms a pool, which seems to be the Lake of Lepers (lago de' Leprosi) mentioned by Leo. The water supplying the baths forms a small rivulet, which, after running through various gardens and the palm groves, and the "Eastern extremity of the Lake of Marks (Melrir) . . . , loseth itself, at a few Miles Distance, in the Sand".—*Travels*, etc., pp. 213, 214.

The ruins of the old town display a few marks of antiquity, such as carved stones, but the inscriptions noted by Leo had already disappeared in 1739. Nowadays scarcely a relic remains, the stones

of Aquæ Tacapitanae having been utilised for building the modern villages in the oasis, and the Borj el-Hamma, the fort erected here. The temperatures of the hot baths vary from 45° C. to 34° C.

Leo's data are, however, not quite accurate, for, instead of the water "tasting like brimstone", it is perfectly sweet, and when cool is drunk with avidity. Leo, in fact, seems to have depended too much on his memory in describing these hot springs.—Playfair, *Proc. R.G.S.* (1890), p. 625; Guérin, *Voyage Archéologique*, t. i, pp. 235, 269, 270; Tissot, *La Province Romaine*, t. ii, pp. 654, 699; Temple, *Excursions*, vol. ii, p. 189.

(78) Mahres, Mahares, Maharess of Shaw, a large fishing village at the southern point (Pt. Mahares) of the Bay of Sfax. It bears distinct evidence of having been a much larger place. But Shaw (*Travels*, p. 195) is, I believe, wrong in regarding it as the Macomades minores ("Macodama"), an ancient Roman municipium; though it is still an open question whether M. Tissot is much more correct in finding the latter at Henchir Oghelt el-Khififa. There are ruins there—that is all. —*Revue Africaine*, t. i, pp. 194-196; *La Province Romaine*, t. ii, pp. 191, 192. The discovery of inscriptions could alone settle the point.—Lafitte et Servonnet, *Le Golfe de Gabès en* 1888, pp. 160-163. There was at one time a Sultan of Mahres. It is not "almost fiue hundred miles distant from the isle of Gerbi", but about fifty—(circa a cinquanta miglia). The castle of which Leo speaks is now half ruined.

(79) Gerbo in the original Italian, the Bracheon of Scylax, the Meninsc, or Meniks (Μήνιγξ), of Strabo, who used the name then applied to it by the natives, though Ptolemy makes Menensc only one of two towns on the "Island of the Lotophagi" (ἡ Λωτοφάγων νῆσος Λωτοφαγῖτις) of Homer, an identification now generally accepted. Meninx, probably El-Kantara, seems from its ruins to have been a large city. The island was afterwards called Girba, and Aurelius Victor notes that two Emperors—Trebonianus Gallus and his son Voluscanes (A.D. 252-254)—were both raised to the Imperial dignity here—"creati in insula Meninge quæ nunc Girba dicitur" (*Epitome*, etc., chap. xlv). It is the modern Gerba or Jerba (to use the pronunciation of the people of the island, mostly Berbers), and the Gelves or Xerves of the Spanish historians.

(80) Humt es-Suk is now the trading quarter, and corresponds to this description. The Kaïd, who is responsible for the government, has his residence at Humt-sedrien near at hand.

(81) Roger de Loria conquered the island in 1284, and received it in fief from Peter of Aragon. He erected the great fortress called Borj el-Kebir, which still stands. In 1315, it was made over by Roger III (de Loria's descendant) to Frederick of Sicily. In 1333, the island recovered its independence; but in 1431 it was subdued by Alfonso V of Aragon, who had made an attempt on it in 1424. He is said to have built El-Kantara—not the town, but the causeway from the island to the mainland and the Borj Castel. This is perhaps the invasion and conquering of the island by Christians to which Leo refers: though if he, and not the Aragonese of 1284, constructed the works mentioned, this shows that the recovery of Jerba by the King of Tunis was not so rapid as the Arab historians whom Leo follows are fond of imagining: unless, indeed, between the invasion of Alfonso V in 1432, and that of Ferdinand the Catholic in 1510, there was an evacuation and a renewed attempt to gain possession. In any case, the date was not about fifty years before Leo wrote, but nearer ninety. It also appears that it is to this date that must be attributed the famous Borj er-Ru'us (or Tower of Skulls), twenty feet high and ten feet broad, which up to 1848 stood near the Humt es-Suk. Sir Grenville Temple saw it in 1832. "No tradition", he tells us, "is preserved of its origin, except that the skulls are those of Christians. I think it probable that they are remnants of the Spanish soldiers, who, under the command of the Duke of Alva, landed at Jerbeh during high water, were attacked and defeated by the Moors, and obliged to fall back upon their boats; but these, unfortunately for them, were now high and dry, the tide having during the action receded, and the ships and transports, to avoid the same predicament, had stood out to sea. The heavily-accoutred Spaniards tried to regain them, but while floundering in the mud and weeds, were shot or speared by their exasperated and more lightly-accoutred enemies, who, it is probable, erected with the dead bodies this tower in commemoration of their victory and deliverance from foreign invasion. To preserve it, it is occasionally covered with a coat of mortar; when I saw it, a great part of this had fallen down, and exposed to view the ghastly grinning skulls."—*Excursions*, vol. i, pp. 157, 158. This expedition was in 1510. The view more generally adopted is that the skulls were the ghastly memorials of the expedition sent in 1559-1560 by Charles V under the command of Juan de la Cerda, Duke of Medina-Cœli, Viceroy of Sicily, which was massacred by Dragut. But this is mere speculation. The native historians, like El-Kairouâni, have nothing to say to this effect. On the other hand, in a curious little account of Jerba written by Mohammed En-Naser, it is expressly noted that it was in A.H. 835 (A.D. 1432), in the reign of Abu Fares, that the tower was constructed out

of the bodies of the slaughtered Spaniards. "The Jerbians", he tells us, "cut off the heads of the Spaniards slain in the combat, and in constructing a tower employed the arms and legs to intercalate with the heads. This tower, which still exists [*i.e.*, at the time he wrote, A.D. 1797], is situated in the north on the sea-shore, between the Borj el-Kebir and the place of embarcation: it attains a height of sixteen cubits, and four in breadth."

In 1848 the representative of Monseigneur Sutter (Vicar-Apostolic of Tunis), Padre Giuseppe de Maria, and the foreign consul Ahmed Bey, gave orders for the removal of the hideous trophy and the burial of the bones in the cemetery of Humt es-Suk. This decree was carried out, though not without furious opposition on the part of the Jerbians.

(82) The people of Jerba have been frequently in rebellion, not only against their foreign conquerors but also against their native rulers. In 1510, there was an invasion of Spaniards, nominally under Garcia Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alva, and father of the more celebrated duke of that name, though actually under Pedro Navarro. It is the one described by Sir Grenville Temple (*ut supra*). In 1520, Charles V sent a more successful expedition under Hugo de Moncada (a "Rhodian Knight of the Order of Saint John de Messina") and Diego de Vera, who granted peace to the Sheikh of the island on his agreeing to pay an annual tribute of five thousand golden dinars (two thousand crowns = twelve thousand francs), and pledging himself to deny asylum to pirates. As Leo was writing a year or two after this compact, "to this day" meant little. Actually the Spaniards had scarcely turned their backs before the treaty was regarded as waste paper, and the island was used as an arsenal, first by Barbarossa (1524), and a little later by the redoubtable Dragut. This brought Andrea Doria with a fleet to Jerba in 1551, when Dragut escaped by cutting a channel for his ships through the sandbanks into Bu Giara, and capturing several galleys sent for the reinforcement of Doria's squadron. In 1599, Felipe II sent Juan de la Cerda on the unfortunate expedition above mentioned.

After this, Jerba was permitted to remain masterless, so far as any European power was concerned, until in 1881 it quietly accepted the French protectorate. The quarrels of the Jerbians, between the death of Dragut before Valetta in 1565 and the present year, have been family differences or struggles between Algerines, Tripolitans, and Tunisians.—*Description et histoire de l'île de Djerba, traduite du manuscrit du Cheikh Mohammed Abou Rasse Ahmed en-Naceur*, par Eriga dit Kayser, Interprète Militaire Auxiliaire de 1re Classe (Tunis 1884). This valuable brochure,

with a facsimile of the original Arabic, is scarcely known in Europe. I obtained my copy in Sfax.—Lafitte et Servonnet, *Le Golfe de Gabès en* 1888, pp. 270-314; Brulard, *L'isle de Djerba* (Besançon, 1885). For antiquities, Tissot, *La Province Romaine*, t. i, pp. 190-200; t. ii, 788, 790, 820; Galindo y de Vera, *Hist. Vicissitudes y politica tradicional de España respecto de sus posesiones en las costas de Africa*, pp. 74, 100, 120, etc. The Jerba dialect referred to by Leo is treated of by Basset in his *Notes de Lexicographie Berbère*, 1883; while many curious facts about Jerba and its Christian enemies may be found in De Mas Latrie's *Relations et Commerce de l'Afrique Sept. avec les Nations Chrétiennes*, 1866.

(83) Zavia, Soârah, or Soârih, properly Zuagha, or Soâga (Barth, *Wanderungen durch die Küstenländer des Mittelmeeres*, pp. 273, 274, 288, 289). The Zuâgha Berbers figure in El-Bekri, and the Jerba wars are described by En-Naceur. The place is called Zuâghat esh-Sherkiyya, to distinguish it from another Zuagha. Della Cella refers to the salt deposits of "Zoara, about four leagues west of Tripoli" (*Narrative of an Expedition from Tripoli in Barbary*, etc., Aufrère's trans., p. 76). It also appears on the Catalan Portulan as Zoyara. A little north of Zuâghat esh-Sherkiyya are the ruins of a large town which the Arab authors of the middle ages called Ṣabra (Et-Tijâni, p. 175). "Not far from Zuâgha on the sea shore, we see the ruins of an ancient city called Ṣabra (Ibn Haukal, *Journ. Asiatique*, February 1842, p. 166; El-Bekri, p. 44, *cf.* Tissot, p. 210), which is the ancient Sabrata, Sabaratha, Sabathra, Saratha, etc. It sometimes appears on old charts as "Tripoli vecchia", or Old Tripoli, from forming one of three old Byzantine cities called Tripolis (see the Beecheys' *Report of the Expedition to explore the Northern Coast of Africa from Tripolis*, etc., pp. 25 *et seq.*). Leo refers to it under that name. The identity of Sabrata with the Abrotonum (Ἀβροτόνον) of Scylax, Strabo, and Pliny, has now been satisfactorily traced (Barth, Müller, Vivian Saint-Martin, Tissot), so that the learning which placed it at Tajuira (Della Cella) or at Tripoli (Beechey) was thrown away.

It was at "Soara" that, on the 16th of August 1551, the Knights of St. John (of Malta) under Leon Strozzi were defeated. This affair, and the poor success which attended their possession of Tripoli, no doubt determined the order to refuse Charles the Fifth's offer of Mehdia, which they had helped to capture. The Knights had no stomach for more of Africa.

(84) Lepede in original, Lebida, Lebda, or Lepda, the ancient Leptis (ἡ Λέπτις) Magna. The ruins (extensive, "but all in bad taste:

chiefly done in the time of Aurelian—indeed very bad" in the opinion of Bruce) are yearly vanishing, owing to the fine granite and marble pillars being exported for the vilest uses, such as the manufacture of mortars and oil mills.—Playfair, *Mediterranean*, p. 45; Rae, *The Country of the Moors*, pp. 45-48.

Leo is in this passage labouring under an error. Leptis was originally a Sidonian settlement (Sallust, *Jugurtha*, cap. 80), and flourished under the rule of Rome, though to the last markedly Phœnicianised, owing to the marriage and intercourse of the colonists with the neighbouring Numidians speaking the Berber language. During the Vandal occupation, Genseric, adopting his usual policy of destroying the fortifications of African cities, razed those of Leptis, with the result that the town was so subject to Barbarian inroads, that many of the inhabitants deserted it. Justinian, therefore, on the citizens adopting Christianity, rebuilt the walls both of Leptis and the neighbouring city of Sabrata (Procopius, *De Ædificiis*, lib. vi, cap. iv). During the reign of Constans II (A.D. 647-8), the Levatæ, a well-known Berber tribe, from whom in Rennell's opinion the word Libya was derived, again invested the place. These inroads, combined with the drifting sands of the desert, made Leptis so uncomfortable a place of residence that it was gradually abandoned for Tripolis, built on the site of the ancient Oea. Then the barbarians poured in, so that when Abd Allah's Arabs arrived, there must have been comparatively little to destroy, and that little—together with the ruins of Sabrata—may possibly have been employed in the rebuilding of the Roman town of Tripoli, the modern Tripoli of Barbary, the Tarabolus (Trabilis) al-Gharb of the Arabs, (to distinguish it from Tripoli in Syria). Tarabolis is simply Tripoli Arabised. Leptis is referred to by Scylax, Strabo, Ptolemy, Pomponius Mela and other writers, as Neapolis (Νεάπολις), which was, perhaps, as Bartil suggested, a particular quarter of the city. The favourable situation for commerce—far more so than Tripoli—made the citizens so wealthy, that at the time the city was part of the Carthaginian territory, they were assessed at a tribute of one talent (more than £222) a day (Livy, xxxiv, 64). Even after it came under Roman rule, the Leptis people paid annual taxation amounting to 300,000 pounds of oil, keeping their Punic constitution so far as to be governed (an inscription shows) by Suffetes as late as the first century of our era. The last mention of Leptis is in an ecclesiastical text of A.D. 482.

(85) Tripoli Vecchia—Old Tripoli, or Sabrata (note 83). Oea, Sabrata, and Leptis Magna constituted a feudal union, and the district of the Three Cities governed by a Concilium Annum was called

Libya Tripolitana. This name has been reserved for Oea, after it was occupied by Greek-speaking colonists. Oea (Mela and Pliny) Ἔωα (Ptolemy), Occa (of the *Antonine Itinerary*), Osa (in the *Peutinger Itinerary*), Ocea in some old geographical treatises by the blunder of copyists—was founded by the Romans at a date which from lack of material evidence we cannot yet settle, and peopled partly by colonists from Sicily and partly by the more civilised Libyans.

(86) By this is meant, not as sometimes supposed Oea, on the site or out of the ruins of which the present city is built, but (*ut supra*) "Tripoli Vecchia", or Sabrata. The walls of Tripoli now standing are said to have been constructed, with other fortifications, by Dragut, (the corsair chief, whose Kubba, or tomb, is one of the most venerated in the city), and, though now decaying, show signs of very solid workmanship; not agreeing, therefore, with Leo's description of their being high and beautiful but "not verie strong". Leo and Dragut were not contemporaries—Dragut being the later of the two—so that the present walls may have been built or strengthened after the former visited Tripoli. The date-palms are still as plentiful as ever, the sandy plain of which our traveller speaks being thickly dotted with them. But nowadays, at least, the houses bear no comparison with those of Tunis. Tunis, indeed, until the French conquest gave an impetus to Algiers, was the most civilized of all the Barbary cities.—Borsari, *Geografia etnologica e storica della Tripolitania Cirenaica e Fezzan* (1868), pp. 102-126.

(87) This theory of the inroads of the sea cannot be entirely accepted. The sea on all this part of the coast is shallow—at ebb-tide it is possible to wade from Jerba to the mainland by Tarîk el-Jemel, "the camel's way"—mainly because it is constantly being shoaled by the drifting into it of the desert sands, which the wind sweeps seaward, now more than ever since the scantiness of cultivation has interposed fewer obstacles against the encroachments of the Sahara. The result of the soil not being bound together by plants, is that the desert has in places encroached to the very walls of Tripoli, and has no doubt covered what in former days was cultivated ground. This portion of the ancient ruins does not quite support the popular view of the encroachment of the sea, or the sinking of the land.

In Tripoli few memorials of the past have survived the wreck wrought by the Arab invaders — nomads, and, like the Saxon invaders of England, haters of towns and town life, until effeminacy, the love of trade, and the necessity of possessing strongholds compelled them to build castles and walled collections of houses, or to reconstruct after their own

taste the ruins of the Roman cities which they had sacked and left to the jackals. But one, now jammed in among poor houses near the sea gate (Bab el-Bahr) is sufficiently notable to make some amends for the absence of others. This is the splendid quadri-frontal white marble arch which, as an inscription on it records, was reared by the Consul Scipio Æfritus, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and subsequently dedicated to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Aurelius Verus, his successors. This triumphal arch proves (1) that the coast cannot have undergone much change in level since the seventh century; and (2) that, contrary to the notion of Leo and his copyists, the present city of Tripoli is erected on much the same site as the Roman one. The latter, no doubt, covered a greater space of ground, and may have extended, as Leo contends, a little further north; but it could not have gone far, even admitting the sinking of the land, for the depth soon sinks to six or seven fathoms, and a depression to this extent must have overwhelmed the entire site. Moreover, to the eastward is a tract of rocky and elevated ground, on which was the ancient Roman cemetery, where many sepulchral urns have been found.—Beechey, *Proceedings of the Expedition to explore the North Coast of Africa*, etc., pp. 15, 19). The arch is well figured in Bruce's drawings on Plates xxvii and xxviii of Playfair's *Travels*, etc., and in Lyon's *Travels*, etc., p. 18. It is also referred to but not figured in Tully's *Narrative of a Ten Years' Residence at Tripoli in Africa* (pp. 8, 9), a valuable work, though full of historical inaccuracies.

The scarcity of corn is due partly to the limited amount of agricultural land, and partly to the uncertainty of the rain-fall. In good seasons Tripoli still exports grain, but in dry ones it does not grow enough for the use of the people in the Vilayet. At the same time, the sandy plain to the S.W. is in part occasionally flooded during the prevalence of strong northerly gales, and there is marshy ground to the westward of the town between these celebrated places and the sea.

Captain (afterwards Admiral) Beechey, in commenting on Leo's assertion about the old corn lands being under the sea, remarks:—"From this account, contrasted with the actual appearance of the place in question, we must either suppose that the level of the lands here alluded to, which are those in the immediate neighbourhood of Tripoly, is higher at the present time than it was in the age of Leo, or that the sea has retired since that period. For although the soil of Tripoly still continues to be sandy, there is now no part of it overflowed to the southward of the town." This, an examination by the editor, bears out, and it is possible that, since Leo's day, earthquake movements may have altered the level of this part of the Barbary coast.

(88) Abu-l-Hassan went to war against Abu Hafez Omar in A.H. 748 (A.D. 1348), the latter not fleeing to the desert as Leo has it, but, according to El-Kairouâni, to Gabes, where he was slain by the partisans of Abu-l-Hassan. But the latter, having suffered a great disaster before Kairwan, had to return to save his Moroccan and other western dominions, where his son Abu Einan had raised a rebellion, and various subject cities had revolted. Then Abu el-Abbâs of Tunis recovered the throne of the Beni-Hafez of Tunis. Abu Einan, in A.D. 758, forced Abu Ishak Ibrahim of Tunis to evacuate his capital and take refuge in Mehdia, where nearly all central Maghrebs recognised the conqueror; but a mutiny of his troops compelled Abu Einan to repair to Fez without consolidating the advantages gained. Then Abu Ishak Ibrahim was therefore permitted to return to Tunis. El-Kairouâni says nothing about his being imprisoned at Ceuta and restored by Abu Selim. On the contrary, he is said to have died twelve years after his restoration, though the native historians differ as to the exact date, which El-Kairouâni gives as A.H. 779 (A.D. 1369).

In the original the names of Abu-l-Abbâs ("Abulabbis"), King of Tunis, and Abu Einan ("Abuenan"), King of Fez, are given. Florianus omits them in his translation, and Pory follows suit.

(89) This seizure of Tripoli was made in 1353 by Philip Doria, Admiral of the Republic of Genoa, who acted without the authorisation of his government. The latter being at peace with Tripoli, and fearing the consequences to their merchants in Tunis and other Barbary ports, disallowed the act. Yet the filibusters, after remaining four months in Tripoli, plundering freely, were permitted to return to Genoa laden with loot, and received only a nominal punishment. A ransom is said to have been negotiated through Ibn Mekki, the ruler of Gabes. The date is given in a footnote to El-Kairouâni's history as 1342. But as El-Kairouâni himself gives it as 1355 (A.H. 756), which corresponds to that stated by Genoese historians, MM. Pellissier and Rémusat must have made a slip of the pen.—*Istorie di Matteo Villani*, c. 47, 48, 49, 60; El-Kairouâni, pp. 248, 249, Ibn Khaldoun; *Hist. des Berbères*, t. iii, pp. 49, 51, 52, 164, 173, De Mas-Latrie; *Traites de paix*, etc., pp. 224 *et. seq.*; Wailles, Bibliography in *Bull. de Correspondance Africaine* (1884), pp. 227-237; and Playfair, *Supp. Papers R.G.S.* (1889), pp. 559-614, for fuller references and titles of works briefly cited.

(90) This portion of Leo's history is very confused and inaccurate.

Pedro Navarro captured Tripoli in 1510. For a long time previously it had been governed by the Beni-Amer. Abu Fares, King of

Tunis, had conquered the last prince of that dynasty. But at the time when Navarro attacked it, the city and neighbouring territory was governed by an independent Sheik, some of whose predecessors are named by Leo. The place was stubbornly defended, street by street, house by house. But though it was much knocked about, and many of the inhabitants and Genoese merchants, impoverished by the sack—in which enormous booty was obtained—deserted it, Tripoli was not, as Leo and Marmol declare, "destroyed by the Christians". On the contrary, Diego de Vera, being appointed governor, made it stronger than ever. Indeed, Leo, while previously describing the walls as not very strong, now notes them as "most strong". Jayme de Requesens, for long the successor of de Vera, carried on the work of the latter; while Guillem de Moncada, brother of Hugo de Moncada, Viceroy of Sicily, also continued to repair the damages committed during Pedro Navarro's assault.

In 1530 Charles V gave Tripoli and Malta to the Knights of St. John, who had just then lost Rhodes. But in 1551 (according to Marmol) they were expelled by Sinan Pasha and Dragut. After this the place continued, with brief intervals, in Turkish hands. The piracies of the Tripolitans were, however, so notorious that again and again was the city bombarded by European fleets. The Bashawi also became independent. After 1714 Ahmed Pasha Karamânli and his descendants ruled the city and province as a dynasty, owning allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey, just as the Beys of Tunis did—that is, in the most nominal way. But in 1835 the Sultan, taking advantage of one of the many Arab outbreaks, reasserted his authority, and has ever since ruled Tripoli as a vilayet of the empire.

(91) The Berber girls have still a habit of tattooing crosses on their arms and cheeks, though it is only a pious belief that the ornamentation has anything to do with their pristine veneer of Christianity, which in the inaccessible retreats affected by them might have long remained uninfluenced by Islam. It is even possible that some of the Roman Christians retreated from the ravaging Arabs to the mountain houses of the race with whom they had formed alliances of friendship, marriage, and a common faith.

(92) Aures, properly Auragh, the Audon of Ptolemy, one of the most interesting mountain regions in Algeria. Its inhabitants, the Khawia or Zenate, a Berber people, who have no doubt Roman blood in their veins, are the débris of the Vandal and Byzantine colonists who found a refuge here from religious persecution and the harassment of successive conquerors. Their physiognomy, language, and customs bear evidence to this. In youth the women are very beautiful,

with fine classical features. Latin words occur in the ordinary speech, and they observe the 25th of December as a feast under the name of Mîlâd (the Birth), and keep three days' festivals both at springtime and harvest. They use the solar instead of the Mohammedan lunar year, and the names of the months are the same as our own. The interesting remains of Timegrad, the ancient Thamugas, are in this district, though not noticed by Leo, from which it may be inferred that he knew personally little of this region "inhabited by most barbarous people".—Playfair, *Travels*, etc., pp. 60-68; Boeswillwald-Cagnat, *Timegad, une Cité Africaine* (1891); Masqueray, "*Formation des Cités chez les Populations Sédentaires de l'Algérie* (1886), and *De Aurasio monte ab initio secundi p. Ch. sæculi usque ad Salomones Expeditionem Thesis Facultatis Litterarum in Academia Parisiensi*, etc. (1886); Graham, "Remains of the Roman Occupation of North Africa," etc. (*Trans. Roy. Inst. Brit. Architects* vol. i, N.S. 1885), etc.

(93) For notes on this and other early accounts of Constantine, see Dureau de la Maille, *Province de Constantine*, pp. 167-197, etc.

(94) Zaghuan, the ancient Zengis, which gave its name to Zengitana (Africa propria). On a mountain over one of the springs, the ancient Zucchara Civitas (the village of Ben Saida) now supplying Tunis, as of old they supplied Carthage, there was in Shaw's day an inscription:—"Rorisii totivsque Divinæ Domvs ejvs civitas Zvccharia fecit et dedicavit." There are many Roman remains in this district.

(95) Jebel Nefûsa, a name applied by the natives to that part of the Tripolitan chain which extends between Wazzen (of Tripoli) and Rejban. The Ater mons of the Romans was perhaps the chain between Jebel es-Sôda and Jebel Nefûsa.—Tissot, *La Province Romaine*, t. ii, pp. 698, 708, 715.

(96) Jebel Ghurian, an inhabited volcanic mountain district, 2000 ft. high, due south of Tripoli. Many of the inhabitants, who bear traces of Jewish ancestry, live in subterranean houses. Their saffron (Crocus) plantations are still famous, though under endless tyrannies and oppression the population has much decreased. There are many Roman ruins in this district.—Lyon, *Travels in Northern Africa*, p. 25; Barth, *Travels in North and Central Africa*, vol. i, pp. 48, 49.

(97) Beni Houarah? Sir Lambert Playfair suggests to me.

(98) Ksar Ahmed, possibly named after either Ahmed ben Omar, the Aghlabite general, or Ahmed ben Hassan el-Kelbi, both of whom

would answer to Leo's description. Ksar Ahmed has now disappeared, though a place near Mesurata (Ras Bu Sheifa) is still known by that name and marked by a Marabout's tomb.—*Della Cella*, p. 49.

Not far from this place, on the shores of the Syrtes, lived the robber tribe of Uled Ali, which as late as 1815 was exterminated by Mohammed Karamânli, eldest son of the Bashaw of Tripoli, an incident which may give a clue to the disappearance of tribes before and since Leo's day.

(99) Sueka, the Sudéyca of Marmol, near—according to him—to Ptolemy's Cape Trieri—the three-pointed.

(100) Ksar Husn—the Caçar Hascen of Marmol, built by the army of Okba after the ruin of Old Tripoli.

# IOHN LEO HIS SIXTH BOOKE OF the Historie of Africa, and *of the memorable things* contained therein.

### *Of the village called Gar.*

HAuing hitherto intreated of the mountaines, it now remaineth that we say somewhat as touching certaine villages, hamlets, and territories: and afterward we will describe in order the cities of Numidia. And first the village of Gar, situate vpon the Mediterran sea, and abounding with dates, offereth it selfe: the fields thereto belonging are drie and barren, and yet bring they foorth some quantitie of barley for the sustenance of the inhabitants.[1]

### *Of Garell Gare.*

IT is a certaine little territorie or Grange, containing caues of a maruellous depth, whence (they say) the stones were taken wherewith olde Tripolis was built, because it is not far distant from that citie.[2]

### *Of the village of Sarman.*

THis large village standing not farre from old Tripolis, aboundeth with dates, but no corne will grow there.[3]

*Of the village called Zauiat Ben Iarbuh.*

THis village being situate neer vnto the Mediterran sea, yeeldeth great plentie of dates, but no corne at all and is inhabited by certaine religious persons.[4]

*Of the village of Zauzor.*

THis village also standing neere vnto the Mediterran sea, within twelue miles of Tripolis, is inhabited by sundrie artificers, and aboundeth with great store of dates, pomegranats, and peaches. The inhabitants haue beene verie miserable euer since Tripolis was taken by the Christians; and yet they traffique with the citizens of Tripolis, and carrie dates thither to sell.[5]

*Of the village of Hamrozo.*

IT standeth sixe miles from Tripolis, and the gardens thereof bring forth great plentie of dates, and of all other kinde of fruits.[6]

*Of the plaine of Taiora.*

THis plaine standing two miles eastward of Tripolis, containeth many granges exceedingly replenished with dates and other fruits. The surprise of Tripolis was verie profitable for this place, for then many principall citizens fled hither for refuge. The inhabitants being ignorant and rude people, and altogither addicted to theft and robberie, build their cottages with the boughes of palme-trees. Their food is barley bread, and Bezin before described: all round about are subiect vnto the king of Tunis and the Arabians, saue those onely that inhabit vpon this plaine.[7]

### *Of the Prouince of Mesellata.*

THis Prouince standing vpon the Mediterran sea about fiue and thirtie miles from Tripolis, and being fraught with rich villages, castles, and inhabitants, aboundeth also with great plentie of oliues and dates. The inhabitants being free from all forren authoritie, haue a Captaine among themselues, which gouerneth their commonwealth, and fighteth their battles against the Arabians: and the soldiers of this Prouince are about 5000.[8]

### *Of the Prouince of Mesrata.*

THis Prouince being situate also vpon the Mediterran sea, about an hundreth miles from Tripolis, hath manie villages both vpon the plaines and mountaines. The inhabitants are rich and pay no tribute at all, and exercise traffique with the Venetians resorting to this Prouince with their galleies, carrying the Venetian wares to Numidia, and there exchanging the same for slaues, muske, and ciuet, which is brought thither out of Ethiopia.[9]

### *Of the desert of Barca.*

THis desert beginning at the vtmost frontire of Mestrata, and extending eastward as farre as the confines of Alexandria, containeth in length a thousand and three hundreth, and in bredth about 200. miles. It is a rough and vnpleasant place, being almost vtterly destitute of water and corne. Before the Arabians inuaded Africa, this region was void of inhabitants: but now certaine Arabians lead here a miserable and hungrie life, being a great way distant from all places of habitation: neither haue they any corne growing at all. But corne and other necessaries are brought vnto them by sea from Sicilia, which that euerie of them may purchase, they are constrained to lay their sonnes to gage, and then goe rob and rifle trauellers

*The Arabians of Barca most cruell and bloodie theeues.*

to redeeme them againe. Neuer did you heare of more cruell and bloodie theeues; for after they haue robbed merchants of all their goods and apparell, they powre warme milke downe their throats, hanging them vp by the heeles vpon some tree, and forcing them to cast their gorge, wherein the lewd varlets search diligently for gold, suspecting that the merchants swallowed vp all their crownes before they entred that dangerous desert.[10]

## *Of the citie of Tesset in Numidia.*

IN the first booke of this present discourse we said that Numidia was accounted by the African Cosmographers the basest part of all Africa, and there we alleaged certaine persons for the same purpose: we signified also in the second Booke, writing of the prouince of Hea, that certaine cities of Numidia stood neere vnto mount Atlas. Howbeit *Sus, Guzula, Helchemma, and Capes, are within the kingdome of Tunis, albeit some would haue them situate in Numidia.[11] But my selfe following the opinion of *Ptolemey*, suppose Tunis to be a part of Barbarie. Being therefore about to describe all the cities and townes of Numidia, I will first begin with Tesset: which ancient towne built by the Numidians neere vnto the Libyan deserts, and enuironed with walles of sunne-dried bricke, deserueth scarcely the name of a towne; and yet containeth fower hundred families. It is compassed round about with sandie plaines, sauing that neer vnto the towne grow some store of dates, of mill-seed, and of barley, which the miserable townesmen vse for food. They are constrained also to pay large tribute vnto the Arabians inhabiting the next deserts. They exercise traffique in the land of Negroes and in Guzula, insomuch that they spend most of their time in forren regions. They are of a blacke colour, and destitute of all learning. The women indeed teach their yoong children the first rudiments of learning

** Error.*

but before they can attaine to any perfection, they are put to labour, and to the plough-tayle. The said women are somewhat whiter then other women: some of them get their liuing by spinning and carding of wooll, and the residue spend their time in idlenes. Such as are accounted richest in this region, possesse but verie few cattell. They till their ground with an horse and a camell, which kinde of plowing is obserued throughout all Numidia.[12]

### *Of the village of Guaden.*

THis village situate vpon the Numidian desert neere vnto Libya, is inhabited by most miserable and grosse people. Here groweth nothing but dates: and the inhabitants are at such enmitie with their neighbours, that it is dangerous for them to go abroad. Howbeit they giue themselues to hunting, and take certaine wilde beasts called Elamth, and ostriches, neither do they eate any other flesh. All their goates they reserue for milke. And these people also are blacke of colour.[13]

*The beast called Elamth*

### *Of the castles of Ifran.*

FOwer castles there are called by this name, built by the Numidians, three miles each from other vpon a certaine riuer, which in the heat of sommer is destitute of water. Neere vnto these castles are certaine fields greatly abounding with dates. The inhabitants are verie rich, for they haue traffique with the Portugals at the port of Gart Guessem, whose wares they carrie to Gualata and Tombuto. These castles containe great store of inhabitants, which make certaine brazen vessels to bee solde in the land of Negros: for they haue copper-mines in sundrie places thereabout. Euery castle hath a weekly market; but corne and flesh are at an extreme rate there. They goe decently apparelled, and haue a faire temple to resort vnto,

*The port of Gart Guessem.*

*Copper-mines.*

and a iudge also that decideth none but ciuill controversies: for criminall matters they vse to punish with banishment onely.[14]

*Of the castles of Accha.*

THree castles of this name built vpon the Numidian deserts not far from Lybia were in times past well stored with inhabitants, but at length by ciuill wars they were vtterly dispeopled. Afterward (all matters being pacified) there were, by the meanes of a certaine religious man, who gouerned the same people, certaine new colonies planted. Neither haue the poore inhabitants any thing to do, but onely to gather dates.[15]

*Of the prouince of Dara.*

THis Prouince beginning at mount Atlas extendeth it selfe southward by the deserts of Lybia almost two hundred and fiftie miles, and the bredth thereof is verie narrow. All the inhabitants dwell vpon a certaine riuer which is called by the name of the Prouince. This riuer sometime so ouerfloweth, that a man would thinke it to be a sea, but in sommer it so diminisheth, that any one may passe ouer it on foote. If so be it ouerfloweth about the beginning of Aprill, it bringeth great plentie vnto the whole region: if not, there followeth great scarcitie of corne. Vpon the banke of this riuer there are sundrie villages and hamlets, and diuers castles also, which are enuironed with walles made of sunne-dried bricke and mortar. All their beames and planchers consist of date-trees, being notwithstanding vnfit for the purpose; for the wood of date-trees is not solid, but flexible and spungie. On either side of the said riuer for the space of fiue or sixe miles, the fields abound exceedingly with dates, which with good keeping will last many yeeres: and as here are diuers kindes of dates, so they are sold at sundry prices: for a bushell of

some is woorth a duckat, but others wherewith they feede their horses and camels, are scarce of a quarter so much value. Of date-trees some are male and some are female: the male bring foorth flowers onely, and the female fruit: but the flowers of the female will not open, vnlesse the boughes and flowers of the male be joined vnto them: And if they be not ioined, the dates will prove starke naught and containe great stones. The inhabitants of Dara liue vpon barlie and other grosse meate: neither may they eate any bread but onely vpon festiuall daies. Their castles are inhabited by goldsmithes and other artificers, and so are all the regions lying in the way from Tombuto to Fez: in this prouince also there are three or fower proper townes, frequented by merchants and strangers, and containing many shops and temples. But the principall towne called Beni Sabih,[17] and inhabited with most valiant and liberall people, is diuided into two parts, either part hauing a seuerall captaine or gouernour: which gouernours are oftentimes at great dissension, and especially when they moisten their arable grounds, by reason that they are so skanted of water. A merchant they will most courteously entertaine a whole yeere together, and then friendly dismissing him, they will require nought at his hands, but wil accept such liberalitie as he thinkes good to bestow vpon them. The said gouernours so often as they fall a skirmishing, hire the next Arabians to aide them, allowing them daily halfe a duckat for their pay and somtimes more, and giuing them their allowance euery day. In time of peace they trim their harquebuzes, handguns, & other weapons: neither saw I euer (to my remembrance) more cunning harquebuziers then at this place. In this prouince groweth great store of Indico being an herbe like vnto wilde woad, and this herbe they exchange with the merchants of Fez and Tremisen for other wares. Corne is very scarce among them, and is brought thither from

*The strange propertie of the palme or date-tree.*

*Indico.*

Fez and other regions, neither haue they any great store of goats or horses, vnto whom instead of prouender they giue dates, and a kinde of herbe also which groweth in the kingdome of Naples, and is called by the Neapolitans Farfa. They feede their goates with the nuts or stones of their dates beaten to powder, whereby they grow exceeding fat, & yeeld great quantitie of milke. Their owne food is the flesh of camels and goates, being vnsauorie and displeasant in taste. Likewise they kill and eate ostriches, the flesh whereof tasteth not much vnlike to the flesh of a dunghill-cocke, sauing that it is more tough and of a stronger smell, especially the ostriches leg, which consisteth of slimie flesh. Their women are faire, fat, and courteous: and they keepe diuers slaues which are brought out of the land of Negros.

*The flesh of the Ostrich.*

## *Of the prouince of Segelmesse.*

THis prouince called Segelmesse,[18] according to the name of the principall citie therein contained, beginneth not farre from the towne of Gherseluin, and stretcheth southward by the riuer of Ziz an hundred and twentie miles, euen to the confines of the Libyan deserts.[19] The said prouince is inhabited by certaine barbarous people of the families of Zeneta, Zanhagia, and Haoara, and was in times past subiect vnto a certaine prince, which bare rule ouer the same prouince onely. Afterward it fell into the possession of king *Ioseph* of the Luntune-family, and then into the hands of one *Muahidin*, and not long after it was enioyed by the king of Fez his sonne. But since that time, the prince of this region was slaine in a rebellion, and the citie of Segelmesse was destroied, and till this day remaineth desolate. Afterward the inhabitants built certaine castles, whereof some are at libertie, and others are subiect to the Arabians.

## *Of the prouince of Cheneg.*

THis region[20] extending it selfe by the riuer of Ziz vnto mount Atlas, containeth many castles, and bringeth forth great abundance of dates, which dates are but of small value. Their fields are barren and of little circuit, saue only betweene the riuer Ziz and the foote of mount Atlas, where some store of barlie vsed to grow. The inhabitants are some of them subiect to the Arabians, others to the citie of Gherseluin, and the residue liue at their owne libertie. And vnto these the high way leading from Segelmesse to Fez is subiect, and they exact great tribute of the merchants trauelling the same way. Neere vnto the said high way stand three castles, the first whereof being situate vpon an exceeding high rocke, seemeth to touch the cloudes. Vnder this castle there is a certaine house where a garde of soldiers continually stand, who for the load of euery camell that passeth by, demand one fourth part of a duckat. The second castle being fifteene miles distant from the first, standeth not vpon an hill but on a plaine, and is farre more stately and rich then the former. The thirde castle called Tammaracroft is situate vpon the common high way about twenty miles southward of the second. There are certaine villages also, and other castles of meaner account. Corne is maruellous scarce among them: but they haue goates great plentie, which in winter they keepe in certaine large caues, as in places of greatest safetie, whereinto they enter by a most narrow passage. Likewise the entrance into this region for the space of fortie miles is so narrow, that two or three armed men onely may withstand mighty forces.

### *Of the region of Matgara.*

THis region[21] beginning southward from the region last described, containeth many castles built vpon the riuer of Ziz, the principall whereof is called Helel, wherein remaineth the gouernour of the whole region being an Arabian by birth. The soldiers of this Arabian gouernour dwell in tents vpon the plaines: and he hath other soldiers attending vpon his owne person also, who will suffer no man to passe but vnder safe conduct, without depriuing him of all his goods. Here are likewise diuers other villages and castles, which not being woorthy the naming I haue of purpose omitted.

### *Of the territorie of Retel.*

RETel[22] bordering vpon the region last described, extendeth also fiftie miles southward along the riuer of Ziz, euen to the confines of Segelmesse. It containeth many castles, and yeeldeth plentie of dates. The inhabitants are subiect vnto the Arabians, being extremely courteous, and so faint harted, that an hundred of them dare scarce oppose themselves against ten Arabians: they till the Arabians ground also as if they were their slaues. The east part of Retel bordereth vpon a certaine desolate mountaine, and the west part vpon a desert and sandie plaine, whereunto the Arabians returning home from the wilderness, do resort.

### *Of the territorie of Segelmesse.*

THis territorie extending it selfe along the riuer of Ziz from north to south almost twenty miles, containeth about three hundred and fiftie castles, besides villages and hamlets: three of which castles are more principall than the rest. The first called Tenegent, and consisting of a

thousand and moe families, standeth neere vnto the citie of Segelmesse, and is inhabited with great store of artificers. The second called Tebuhasan, standeth about eight miles to the south of Tenegent, being furnished also with greater numbers of inhabitants, and so frequented with merchants, that there is not in that respect the like place to be found in all the whole region besides. The third called Mamun is resorted vnto by sundry merchants, both Iewes and Moores. These three castles haue three seuerall gouernours, who are at great dissension among themselues. They will oftentimes destroy one anothers chanels, whereby their fieldes are watered, which cannot without great cost be repaired againe. They will stow the palme-trees also to the very stocks: and vnto them a companie of lewd Arabians associate themselues. They coine both siluer and gold-money: but their gold is not very speciall. Their siluer coine weigherh fower graines apeece, eightie of which peeces are esteemed to be woorth one peece of their gold-coine. The Iewes and Arabians pay excessiue tribute here. Some of their principall men are exceeding rich, and vse great traffique vnto the land of Negros: whither they transport wares of Barbarie, exchanging the same for gold and slaues. The greatest part of them liue vpon dates, except it be in certaine places where some corne grow. Here are infinite numbers of scorpions, but no flies at all. In summer-time this region is extremely hot, and then are the riuers so destitute of water, that the people are constrained to draw salt water out of certaine pits. The said territorie containeth in circuit about eightie miles, all which, after the destruction of Segelmesse, the inhabitants with small cost walled round about, to the ende they might not be molested by continuall inrodes of horsemen. While they liued all at vnitie and concord, they retained their libertie: but since they fell to mutuall debate, their wall was razed, and each faction inuited the

*Infinit numbers of Scorpions.*

Arabians to helpe them, vnder whom by little and little they were brought in subiection.[28]

## *Of the towne or citie of Segelmesse.*

SOme are of opinion that this towne was built by a certaine Romaine captaine, who hauing conducted his troupes foorth of Mauritania, conquered all Numidia, and marching westward, built a towne, and called it Sigillummesse, because it stood vpon the borders of Messa, and was as it were the seale of his victories, and afterward by a corrupt worde it began to be called Segelmesse. The common people togither with one of our African Cosmographers, called *Bicri*, suppose that this towne was built by *Alexander* the great, for the reliefe of his sicke and wounded soldiers. Which opinion seemeth not probable to me: for I coulde neuer read that *Alexander* the great came into any part of these regions. This towne was situate vpon a plaine neere vnto the riuer of Ziz, and was enuironed with most stately and high wals, euen as in many places it is to be seene at this present. When the Mahumetans came first into Africa, the inhabitants of this towne were subiect vnto the family of Zeneta; which family was at length dispossessed of that authority by king *Ioseph* the sonne of *Tesfin*, of the family of Luntuna. The towne it selfe was very gallantly builte, and the inhabitants were rich, and had great traffike vnto the land of Negros. Heere stoode stately temples and colleges also, and great store of conducts, the water whereof was drawen out of the riuer by wheeles. The aire in this place is most temperate and holesome, sauing that in winter it aboundeth with ouermuch moisture, which breedeth some diseases. But now since the towne was destroied, the inhabitants began to plant themselues in the next castles and villages, as we haue before signified. I my selfe

aboade in this region almost seuen moneths at the foresaid castle of Meniun.[24]

### *Of the castle of Essuoathila.*

THis castle was built by the Arabians in a certaine desert place, twelue miles southward of the towne last described; and here they keepe their wares free from the danger of their enimies. Neere vnto this castle there is neither garden nor field, nor any other commoditie, but onely certaine blacke stones and sand.[25]

### *Of the castle of Humeledegi.*

THis castle was built also by the Arabians vpon a desert eighteene miles from Segelmesse, likeas was the former. Neere vnto it lieth a certaine dry plaine, so replenished with sundrie fruits, that in beholding it a farre off a man would thinke the ground were strewed with pome-citrons.[26]

### *Of the castle of Vmmelhesen.*

IT is a forlorne and base castle, founded by the Arabians also fiue and twentie miles from Segelmesse vpon a desert, directly in the way from Segelmesse to Dara. It is enuironed with blacke wals, and continually garded by the Arabians. All merchants that passe by, pay one fourth part of a ducate for euery camels lode. My selfe trauelling this way vpon a time in the companie of fourteene Iewes, and being demaunded how manie there were of vs, we saide thirteene, but after I began particularly to reckon, I founde the fowerteenth and the fifteenth man amongst vs, whom the Arabians woulde haue kept prisoners, had we not affirmed them to be Mahumetans: howbeit not crediting our words, they examined them in the lawe of Mahumet, which when they perceiued them indeed to vnderstand, they permitted them to depart.[27]

*Of the village of Tebelbelt.*

THis village standing in the Numidian desert, two hundred miles from Atlas, and an hundred southward of Segelmesse, is situate neere vnto three castles, well stored with inhabitants, and abounding with dates. Water and flesh is very scarce amongst them. They vse to hunt and take Ostriches, and to eate the flesh of them: and albeit they haue a trade vnto the land of Negros, yet are they most miserable and beggerly people, and subiect to the Arabians.[28]

*Of the prouince of Todga.*

THis little prouince standing vpon a riuer of the same name, hath great plentie of dates, peaches, grapes, and figs. It containeth fower castles and ten villages, the inhabitants being either husbandmen or lether-dressers. And it standeth westward of Segelmesse about fortie miles.[29]

*Of the region of Farcala.*

IT standeth also vpon a riuer, and aboundeth with dates and other fruites, but corne is greatly wanting heere. Heere are in this region three castles, and fiue villages. It standeth southward of mount Atlas an hundred, and of Segelmesse almost threescore miles. The poore inhabitants are subiect to the Arabians.[30]

*Of the region of Teserin.*

THis beautifull region situate vpon a riuer, is distant from Farcala thirtie, and from mount Atlas about threescore miles. Dates it yeeldeth in abundance, and containeth villages to the number of fifteene, and sixe castles, togither with the ruines of two townes, the names whereof I coulde by no meanes enquire. And the worde Teserin in the African language signifieth a towne.[31]

### *Of the region called Beni Gumi.*

THis region adioining vpon the river of Ghir, aboundeth greatly with dates. The inhabitants are poore and miserable, and buie horses at Fez, which they sell afterwarde vnto merchants that trauell to the lande of Negros. It containeth eight castles, and fifteene villages, and standeth southeast of Segelmesse about an hundred and fiftie miles.[32]

### *Of the castles of Mazalig and Abuhinan.*

THey are situate in the Numidian desert vpon the riuer of Ghir, almost fiftie miles from Segelmesse. Inhabited they are by certaine beggerly Arabians: neither doth the soile adiacent yeeld any corne at all, and but very fewe dates.[33]

### *Of the towne of Chasair.*

THis towne standing vpon the desert of Numidia twentie miles from Atlas, hath mines of lead and antimonie neere vnto it, whereby the inhabitants get their liuing; for this place yeeldeth none other commoditie.[34] *Mines of lead and antimonie.*

### *Of the region of Beni Besseri.*

THis little region situate at the foote of mount Atlas, and abounding with all kinde of fruits saue dates, will beare no corne at all. It containeth three castles and a certaine iron-mine, which serueth all the prouince of Segelmesse with iron. Villages heere are but fewe, which are subiect partly to the prince of Dubdu, and partly to the Arabians; and all the inhabitants employ themselues about working in the foresaid iron-mine.[35] *An iron-mine.*

### *Of the region of Guachde.*

THis region standing seuentie miles southward of Segelmesse hath three castles and sundrie villages situate vpon the riuer of Ghir. Dates it yeeldeth great plentie, and but very little corne. The inhabitants exercise traffique in the land of Negros; and are all subiect, and pay tribute to the Arabians.[36]

### *Of the castles of Fighig.*

THe three castles of Fighig stand vpon a certaine desert maruellously abounding with dates. The women of this place weaue a kinde of cloth in forme of a carpet, which is so fine, that a man would take it to be silke, and this cloth they sell at an excessiue rate at Fez, Telensin, and other places of Barbary. The inhabitants being men of an excellent wit, do part of them vse traffique to the land of Negros, and the residue become students at Fez: and so soone as they haue attained to the degree of a doctor, they returne to Numidia, where they are made either priestes or senatours, and prooue most of them men of great wealth and reputation. From Segelmesse the said castles are distant almost an hundred and fiftie miles eastward.[37]

### *Of the region of Tesebit.*

THe region of Tesebit being situate vpon the Numidian desert, two hundred and fiftie miles eastward of Segelmesse, and an hundred miles from mount Atlas, hath fower castles within the precincts thereof, and many villages also, which stand vpon the confines of Lybia, neer vnto the high way that leadeth from Fez and Telensin to the kingdome of Agadez and to the land of Negros. The inhabitants are not very rich, for all their wealth consisteth in dates, and some small quantitie of corne. The men of

this place are black, but the women are somewhat fairer, and yet they are of a swart and browne hue.[38]

*Of the region of Tegorarin.*

THis great and large region of the Numidian desert standing about an hundred and twentie miles eastward of Tesebit, containeth fiftie castles, and aboue an hundred villages, and yeeldeth great plentie of dates. The inhabitants are rich, and haue ordinarie traffique to the land of Negros. Their fields are very apt for corne, and yet by reason of their extreme drouth, they stand in neede of continuall watering and dunging. They allow vnto strangers houses to dwell in, requiring no money for rent but onely their dung, which they keepe most charily: yea they take it in ill part if any stranger easeth himselfe without the doores. Flesh is very scarce among them: for their soile is so drie, that it will scarce nourish any cattell at all: they keepe a few goates indeede for their milks sake: but the flesh that they eate is of camels, which the Arabians bring vnto their market to sell: they mingle their meate with salt tallow, which is brought into this region from Fez & Tremizen. There were in times past many rich Iewes in this region, who by the meanes of a certaine Mahumetan preacher, were at length expelled, and a great part of them slaine by the seditious people; and that in the very same yeere when the Iewes were expelled out of Spaine and Sicily. The inhabitants of this region hauing one onely gouernour of their owne nation, are notwithstanding often subiect to ciuill contentions, and yet they do not molest other nations: howbeit they pay certaine tribute vnto the next Arabians.[39]

*Of the region of Meszab.*

THis region being situate vpon the Numidian desert, 300. miles eastward from Tegorarin, and 300. miles also from the Mediterran sea, containeth sixe castles, and many villages, the inhabitants being rich, and vsing traffike to the land of Negros. Likewise the Negro-merchants, togither with them of Bugia and Ghir make resort vnto this region. Subiect they are and pay tribute vnto the Arabians.[40]

*Of the towne of Techort.*

THis ancient towne of Techort was built by the Numidians vpon a certaine hill, by the foote whereof runneth a riuer, vpon which riuer standeth a draw-bridge. The wall of this towne was made of free stone and lime, but that part which is next vnto the mountaine hath instead of a wall an impregnable rocke opposite against it: this towne is distant fiue hundred miles southward from the Mediterran sea, and about 360. miles from Tegorarim. Families it containeth to the number of fiue and twentie hundred: all the houses are built of sunne-dried brickes, except their temple which is somewhat more stately. Heere dwell great store both of gentlemen and artificers: and bicause they haue great abundance of dates, and are destitute of corne, the merchants of Constantina exchange corne with them for their dates. All strangers they fauour exceedingly, and friendly dismisse them without paying of ought. They had rather match their daughters vnto strangers, then to their owne citizens: and for a dowry they giue some certaine portion of lande, as it is accustomed in some places of Europe. So great and surpassing is their liberalitie, that they will heape many gifts vpon strangers, albeit they are sure neuer to see them againe. At the first they were subiect to the king of Maroco, afterward to

the king of Telensin, and now to the king of Tunis, vnto whom they pay fiftie thousand ducats for yeerely tribute, vpon condition that the king himselfe come personally to receiue it. The king of Tunis that now is, demanded a second tribute of them. Many castles, and villages, and some territories there be also, which are all subiect vnto the prince of this towne: who collecteth an hundred and thirtie thousand ducates of yeerely reuenues, and hath alwaies a mightie garrison of soldiers attending vpon him, vnto whom he alloweth very large paie. The gouernour at this present called *Habdulla*, is a valiant and liberall yoong prince, and most curteous vnto strangers, whereof I my selfe conuersing with him for certaine daies, had good experience.[41]

### *Of the citie of Guargala.*

THis ancient citie founded by the Numidians, and enuironed with strong wals vpon the Numidian desert, is built very sumptuously, and aboundeth exceedingly with dates. It hath some castles and a great number of villages belonging thereunto. The inhabitants are rich, bicause they are neere vnto the kingdome of Agadez. Heere are diuers merchants of Tunis and Constantina, which transport wares of Barbarie vnto the lande of Negros. And bicause flesh and corne is very scarce with them, they liue vpon the flesh of Ostriches and camels. They are all of a blacke colour, and haue blacke slaues, and are people of a courteous and liberall disposition, and most friendly and bountifull vnto strangers. A gouernour they haue whom they reuerence as if he were a king: which gouernour hath about two thousand horsemen alwaies attending vpon him, and collecteth almost fifteene thousand ducates for yeerely reuenue.[42]

### *Of the prouince of Zeb.*

ZEb a prouince situate also vpon the Numidian desert, beginneth westward from Mesila, northward from the mountaines of Bugia, eastward from the region of dates over against Tunis, and southward it bordereth vpon a certaine desert, ouer which they trauaile from Guargala to Techort. This region is extremely hot, sandie, and destitute both of water and corne: which wants are partly supplied by their abundance of dates. It containeth to the number of fiue townes and many villages, all which we purpose in order to describe.[43]

### *Of the towne of Pescara.*

THis ancient towne built by the Romans while they were lords of Mauritania, and afterward destroied by the Mahumetans at their first enterance into Africa; is now reedified, stored with new inhabitants, and enuironed with faire and stately wals. And albeit the townesmen are not rich, yet are they louers of ciuilitie. Their soile yeeldeth nought but dates. They haue beene gouerned by diuers princes: for they were awhile subiect vnto the kings of Tunis, and that to the death of king *Hutmen*, after whom succeeded a Mahumetan priest: neither coulde the kings of Tunis euer since that time recouer the dominion of Pescara. Here are great abundance of scorpions, and it is present death to be stung by them: wherefore all the townesmen in a manner depart into the countrey in sommer time, where they remaine till the moneth of Nouember.[44]

*Deadly scorpions.*

### *Of the citie of Borgi.*

ANother towne there is also called Borgi, which standeth about fowerteene miles eastward of Pescara. Heere are a great many of artificers, but more husbandmen. And

bicause water is very scarce in this region, and yet their fieldes stand in neede of continuall watering, euery man may conueigh water in his field by a certaine sluce, for the space of an hower or two, according to the bredth or length of his ground; and after one hath done watering his ground, his next nighbour beginneth, which oftentimes breedeth great contention and bloudshed.[45]

*Of the towne of Nefta.*

NEfta is the name of the towne it selfe, and also of the territorie adiacent; which territorie containeth three castles, the greatest whereof seemeth by the manner of building to haue beene founded by the Romains. Inhabitants heere are great store, being very rusticall and vnciuill people. In times past they were exceeding rich, for they dwell neere vnto Lybia, in the very way to the land of Negros: howbeit by reason of their perpetuall hostilitie with the kings of Tunis, the king of Tunis that now is destroied their towne; and themselues he partly slue, and partly put to flight. Likewise he so defaced the wals and other buildings, that now a man woulde esteeme it to be but a base village. Not farre from hence runneth a certaine riuer of hot water, which serueth them both to drinke, and to water their fields withall.[46]

*Of the towne of Teolacha.*

IT was built by the Numidians, and compassed with slender wals, and hath a riuer of hot water also running thereby. The fields adiacent yeeld plentie of dates, but great scarcitie of corne. The miserable inhabitants are oppressed with continual exactions, both by the Arabians, and also by the king of Tunis. Yet are they extremely couetous and proud, and disdainfull vnto strangers.[47]

*Of the towne of Deusen.*

DEusen a very ancient towne, founded by the Romains in the same place where the kingdome of Bugia ioineth to Numidia, was destroied by the Mahumetans at their first entrance into Africa, bicause of a certaine Romaine captaine, which endured the Saracens siege for a whole yeere togither; the towne being at length taken, this captaine and all the men of the towne were put to the sword, but the women and children were carried away captiue. Howbeit after the towne was sacked, the wall thereof remained entire, by reason it was built of most hard stone, and that a woonderfull thicknes, though in some places it seemeth to be ruined, which (I thinke) might be caused by an earthquake. Not farre from this towne are diuers monuments of antiquitie like vnto sepulchers, wherein are founde sundrie peeces of siluer coine, adorned with certaine letters and hieroglyphicall figures, the interpretation whereof I could neuer finde out.[48]

*Of the prouince of Biledulgerio.*

FRom the territorie of Pescara this prouince extendeth it selfe vnto the Isle of Gerbi, and one part thereof, in which Cafsa and Teusar are situate, is almost three hundred miles distant from the Mediterran sea. It is an extreme hot and drie place, bringing foorth no corne at all, but great plenty of dates, which bicause they are speciall good, are transported vnto the kingdome of Tunis. Here are diuers townes and cities, which we will describe in their due place.[49]

*Of the towne of Teusar.*

THis ancient towne built by the Romans vpon the Numidian desert, neere vnto a certaine riuer springing foorth of the southren mountaines, was enuironed with

most stately & impregnable wals, and had an ample territorie thereunto belonging, but it was since so destroied by the Mahumetans, that now instead of the woonted sumptuous palaces thereof it containeth nought but base cottages. The inhabitants are exceeding rich both in wares and money, for they haue many faites euerie yeere; whereunto resort great numbers of merchants from Numidia and Barbarie. The foresaid riuer diuideth the towne into two parts, one whereof being inhabited by the principall gentlemen and burgo-masters, is called Fatnasa: and in the other called Merdes dwell certaine Arabians, which haue remained there euer since the towne was destroyed by the Mahumetans. They are at continuall ciuill wars among themselues, and will performe but little obedience to the king of Tunis: for which cause he dealeth alwaies most rigorously with them.[50]

*Of the towne of Caphsa.*

THe ancient towne of Caphsa built also by the Romans, had for certaine yeeres a gouernour of their owne: but afterward being sacked by one *Hucba* a Captaine of *Hutmen Califa*, the walles thereof were razed to the ground; but the castle as yet remaineth, and is of great force; for the wall thereof being fiue and twentie cubits high, and fiue cubits thick, is made of excellent stones, like vnto the stones of *Vespasians* Amphitheatre at Rome. Afterward the towne-walles were reedified, and were destroyed againe by *Mansor*, who hauing slaine the Gouernour of the towne and all the inhabitants, appointed a new Gouernour ouer the same place. Now this towne is verie populous, all the houses thereof, except the temple and a few other buildings, being verie deformed and base, and the streets are paued with blacke stones, like vnto the streets of Naples and Florence. The poore inhabitants are continually oppressed with the exactions of the king of

Tunis. In the middest of the towne are certaine square, large, and deepe fountaines walled round about, the water whereof is hot and vnfit to bee drunke, vnlesse it be set an hower or two a cooling. The ayre of this place is verie vnholesome, insomuch that the greatest part of the inhabitants are continually sicke of feuers. People they are of a rude and illiberall disposition, and vnkinde vnto strangers: wherefore they are had in great contempt by all other Africans. Not far from this towne are fields abounding with dates, oliues, and pome-citrons: and the dates and oliues there are the best in all the whole prouince: here is likewise most excellent oyle. The inhabitants make themselues shooes of buckes leather.[51]

### *Of the castles of Nefzaoa.*

THree castles there are of this name being well stored with inhabitants, but verie homely built, and oppressed with the king of Tunis his continuall exactions. And they are distant from the Mediterran sea, about fiftie miles.[52]

### *Of the region of Teorregu.*

THis little territory belonging to the kingdome of Tripolis, & bordering vpon the desert of Barca, containeth three castles of the same name, which abound greatly with dates, but haue no corne at all. The inhabitants being farre distant from other townes and cities, lead a most miserable life.[53]

### *Of the territorie of Iasliten.*

IT lieth vpon the Mediterran sea, and containeth many villages abounding with dates. The inhabitants because they dwell so neere the sea, haue great traffique with the people of Sicilie and Egypt.[54]

### *Of the region of Gademes.*

THis large region hauing many castles & villages therin, standeth southward of the Mediterran sea almost three hundred miles. The inhabitants being rich in dates and all other kinde of merchandise, and trafficking into the land of Negros, pay tribute vnto the Arabians; albeit for a certaine time they were subiect vnto the king of Tunis, and the Prince of Tripolis. Corne and flesh are maruellous scarce here.[55]

### *Of the region of Fezzen.*

THis ample region containing great store of castles and villages, and being inhabited with rich people, and bordering vpon the kingdome of Agadez, the Libyan desert, and the land of Egypt, is distant from Cairo almost threescore daies iourney: neither is there any village in all that desert besides Augela, which standeth in the bounds of Libya. This region of Fezzen hath a peculiar gouernour within it selfe, who bestoweth the reuenues of the whole region according to his owne discretion, and payeth some tribute vnto the next Arabians. Of corne and flesh heere is great scarcitie, so that they are constrained to eat camels flesh onely.[56]

### *A description of the deserts of Libya, and first of Zanhaga.*

HAuing hitherto described all the regions of Numidia, let vs now proceed vnto the description of Libya; which is diuided into fiue parts, as we signified in the beginning of this our discourse. We will therefore begin at the drie and forlorne desert of Zanhaga, which bordereth westward vpon the Ocean sea, and extendeth

eastward to the salt-pits of Tegaza, northward it abutteth vpon Sus, Haccha, and Dara, regions of Numidia; and southward it stretcheth to the land of Negros, adioyning it selfe vnto the kingdomes of Gualata and Tombuto. Water is here to be found scarce in an hundred miles trauell, being salt and vnsauorie, and drawen out of deepe wels, especially in the way from Segelmesse to Tombuto. Here are great store of wilde beasts and creeping things, whereof we will make mention in place conuenient. In this region there is a barren desert called Azaoad, wherein neither water nor any habitations are to be found in the space of an hundred miles; beginning from the well of Araoan, which is distant from Tombuto about 150. miles. Here both for lacke of water and extremitie of heat, great numbers of men and beasts daily perish.[57]

### *Of the desert inhabited by the people called Zuenziga.*

THis desert beginneth westward from Tegaza, extending eastward to the desert of Hair which is inhabited by the people called Targa: northward it bordereth vpon the deserts of Segelmesse, Tebelbelt, and Benigorai; and southward vpon the desert of Ghir, which ioineth vnto the kingdome of Guber. It is a most barren and comfortlesse place: and yet merchants trauell that way from Telensin to Tombuto: howbeit many are found lying dead vpon the same way in regard of extreme thirst. Within this desert there is included another desert called Gogdem, where for the space of nine daies iourney not one drop of water is to be found, vnlesse perhaps some raine falleth: wherefore the merchants vse to carrie their water vpon camels backes.[58]

*Of the desert inhabited by the people called Targa.*

THis desert beginneth westward vpon the confines of Hair, and extendeth eastward to the desert of Ighidi; northward it bordereth vpon the deserts of Tuath, Tegorarin, and Mezab, and is inclosed southward with a certaine wildernesse neere vnto the kingdome of Agadez. It is a place much more comfortable and pleasant then the two deserts last described; and hath great plentie of water, also neere vnto Hair. The ayre is maruellous holesome, and the soyle aboundeth with all kinde of herbes. Not farre from Agadez there is found great store of Manna, which the inhabitants gather in certaine little vessels, carrying it while it is new unto the market of Agadez: and this Manna being mingled with water they esteeme very daintie and pretious drinke. They put it also into their pottage, and being so taken, it hath a maruellous force of refrigerating or cooling, which is the cause that here are so few diseases, albeit the ayre of Tombuto and Agadez be most vnwholesome and corrupt. This desert stretcheth from north to south almost 300. miles.[59] *Great store of Manna.*

*Of the desert inhabited by the people of Lemta.*

THE fourth desert beginning at the territorie of Ighidi and extending to another which is inhabited by the people called Berdoa, bordereth northward vpon the deserts of Techort, Guarghala, and Gademis, and southward vpon the kingdome of Cano in the land of Negros. It is exceeding drie, and verie dangerous for merchants trauelling to Constantina. For the inhabitants chalenge vnto themselues the signiorie of Guargala: wherefore making continuall warre against the prince of Guargala, they oftentimes spoile the merchants of all their goods: and as many of the people of Guargala as they can catch, they kill without all pitie and compassion.[60]

*Of the desert inhabited by the people called Berdoa.*

THE fift desert beginning westward from the desert last mentioned, and stretching eastward to the desert of Augela, adioyneth northward vpon the deserts of Fezzen and Barca, and trendeth southward to the desert of Borno. This place is extremely drie also, neither haue any but the Gademites, which are in league with the people of Berdoa, safe passage through it: for the merchants of Fezzen, so often as they fall into their enimies hands, are deprived of all their goods. The residue of the Libyan desert, that is to say, from Augela to the riuer of Nilus is inhabited by certaine Arabians and Africans commonly called Leuata: and this is the extreme easterly part of the deserts of Libya.[61]

*Of the region of Nun.*

THis region bordering vpon the Ocean sea, containeth many villages and hamlets, and is inhabited with most beggerly people. It standeth betweene Numidia and Libya, but somewhat neerer vnto Libya. Here groweth neither barley nor any other corne. Some dates here are, but very vnsauorie. The inhabitants are continually molested by the Arabians inuasions: and some of them traffique in the kingdome of Gualata.[62]

*Of the region of Tegaza.*

*Salt mines.* IN this region is great store of salt digged, beeing whiter then any marble. This salt is taken out of certaine caues or pits, at the entrance wherof stand their cottages that worke in the salt-mines. And these workmen are all strangers, who sell the salt which they dig, vnto certaine merchants that carrie the same vpon camels to the kingdome of Tombuto, where there would otherwise be extreme scarcitie of salt. Neither haue the said diggers of salt any

victuals but such as the merchants bring vnto them: for they are distant from all inhabited places, almost twentie daies iourney, insomuch that oftentimes they perish for lacke of foode, whenas the merchants come not in due time vnto them: Moreouer the southeast winde doth so often blind them, that they cannot liue here without great perill. I my selfe continued three daies amongst them, all which time I was constrained to drinke salt-water drawen out of certaine welles not far from the salt-pits.[63]

### *Of the region of Augela.*

AVgela beeing a region of the Libyan desert, and distant fower hundred and fiftie miles from Nilus, containeth three castles, and certaine villages. Dates heere are great plentie, but extreme scarcitie of corne, vnlesse it be brought hither by merchants out of Egypt. Through this region lieth the way by the Libyan desert from Mauritania to Egypt.[64]

### *Of the towne of Serte.*

SErte an ancient towne built (according to the opinion of some) by the Egyptians; of others, by the Romans; and (as some others suppose) by the Africans, was at length destroied by the Mahumetans, albeit *Ibnu Rachich* affirmeth the Romans to haue sacked it. But now there is nought remaining but onely a few ruines of the wall.[65]

### *Of the region of Berdeoa.*

BErdeoa a region situate in the midst of the Libyan desert, and standing almost fiue hundred miles from Nilus, containeth three castles and fiue or six villages, abounding with most excellent dates. And the said three castles were discouered eighteene yeeres agoe by one *Hamar* in manner following: the carouan of merchants

wandering out of the direct way, had a certaine blinde man in their companie which was acquainted with all those regions: this blinde guide riding foremost vpon his camell, commanded some sand to be giuen him at euery miles end, by the smell whereof he declared the situation of the place: but when they were come within fortie miles of this region, the blinde man smelling of the sand, affirmed that they were not farre from some places inhabited; which some beleeued not, for they knew that they were distant from Egypt fower hundred and eightie miles, so that they tooke themselues to be neerer vnto Augela. Howbeit within three daies they found the said three castles, the inhabitants whereof woondering at the approch of strangers, and being greatly astonied, presently shut all their gates, and would giue the merchants no water to quench their extreme thirst. But the merchants by maine force entred, and hauing gotten water sufficient, betooke themselues againe to their iournie.[66]

*A whole caruan conducted by a blinde guide who lead them by sent onely; as at this present the Carouans of Maroco are conducted ouer the Libyan deserts to Tombuto.*

### *Of the region of Alguechet.*

ALguechet also being a region of the Libyan desert, is from Egypt an hundred and twenty miles distant. Here are three castles and many villages abounding with dates. The inhabitants are black, vile, and couetous people, and yet exceeding rich: for they dwell in the mid way betweene Egypt and Gaoga. They haue a gouernour of their owne, notwithstanding they pay tribute vnto the next Arabians.[67]

*Here endeth the sixth booke.*

# NOTES TO BOOK VI.

(1) Gar, "a cavern"—perhaps Gheriah, Garria, or Geria, on the shores of the Greater Syrtes, but the description is too vague for so insignificant a place to be accurately identified (*Della Cella*, p. 80). Marmol, who seems to have known it, describes Gar as unfortified, with a ruined wall and tower, and "what some call the Cisterne". It was inhabited by Berbers subject to the Chief of Tajuira (Tachore).

(2) The same remark applies to Gar el-Gare, and though the quarries ought to afford a clue to the locality, it is not mentioned by Marmol, Della Cella, Barth, the Beecheys, or any other writer known to me. The Gara (or Gaïa of Ptolemy) is a small islet off Ain Naga, close to the shore of the Greater Syrtes (Syrtes Magna). There are great quarries at the ruins of Ksar Yahilye (which may be "Garell-gare") to the west of Tripoli, and the sanctuary of "El-Gar" in the district of Zenzur is close at hand beside a ruined castle. Caverns are frequent along the coast.

(3) Sarman is described by Marmol as a large open town, well-peopled by Hoarsa Berbers, who recognised the Tripoli authorities, and who had plenty of dates. It is, in all probability, the modern Aserman, a village scattered among the date palms.

(4) The Zauia, or Sanctuary of Sidi Barhab, near Zenzur, the Zaort or Zauit ben Giarbu of Marmol.

(5) Zenzur—a poor place, still in the rich, well-watered district of the same name, which contains four or five thousand people. It is the Gienzor of Marmol.

(6) Hamron of Marmol, an open village in his day. There is a market gardeners' village of this name.

(7) Tajiura, Tajuia, Tadschura, the Tachore of Marmol, Taguira of Della Cella and the Beecheys; a series of scattered villages, surrounded by gardens, date palms and olive groves; the people are occupied in agriculture or market gardening, and in making coarse barracans (the representation of the Morocco jellaba), and mats of the date palm leaves.

(8) Mecellat of Marmol, the great Plain of Mesellata, still well populated and prosperous, and celebrated for the industry of its people. The Castle of Mesellata at the northern end of the village of Kasabat ("the castle") was probably erected by the Spaniards, at the end of the sixteenth century.—Barth, *Travels*, etc., vol. i, p. 77.

(9) Mesurata, Msarata, Mezrata, a large plain covered with olives and date palms, the chief town of which is called Mesurata, about a mile from the extremity of Cape Mesurata. It occupies the site of the ancient Thubactis municipium. The Mezurateens, who live in small detached houses, are mostly agriculturists. But they also manufacture carpets, and send caravans to Fezzan and the Sudan. They have played a warlike part in the turmoils of Tripoli.

(10) Barca still bears the name which the Arab invaders adopted from the Romans, who are said to have taken it, in turn, from an ancient city called "Barce", which was built by Battus, son of Arcesilas, King of Egypt, and afterwards destroyed by Amasis.—*Herodotus*, lib. iv; *Strabo*, lib. xvii; *Ptolemy*, lib. iv, c. 4; *Pomponius Mela*, lib. i, c. 8. The promontory of Barca, and the modern El-Mergi or El-Medina, recalls the ancient Barca and its port of Ptolemais, the modern Tolemeta. This district was the Greek Cyrenaica and the country Pentapolis—"the Land of the Five Cities. But Leo is too liberal in comprising under Barca all the country between Mesurata and Egypt, and in stating, as the natives still do, that the "Desert of Barca", was uninhabited until the Arabs came to Africa. In reality, here were flourishing Greek and Roman colonies, with cities to whose former splendour their ruins attest, and a soil rivalling that of Egypt in fertility. Much of it is sandy, and tracts once cultivated are now permitted, either from lack of irrigation or the desert encroachment, to return to barrenness. But the Barca promontory, instead of being "a sandy or rocky waste, with a few rare oases", is described by Sir Lambert Playfair as consisting "of a succession of wooded hills and smiling prairies, well watered by rain and perennial springs: the climate is healthy and cool even during the summer months, and the moist sea breezes blowing over it protect the country from the devastating wind of the desert". Leo, no doubt, describes Serte as an ancient city, the builders of which some believed to be the Egyptians and others the Romans, from which (*inter alia*) it is clear he had not seen the place in question; otherwise with his Italian experience he would at once have seen that the Egyptians could have had nothing to do with the sculptures then more in evidence than now. He also grossly exaggerates the length and breadth of the region he takes to be Barca. It is from this erroneous description of Leo's that the persistent modern impression of "the district and desert of

Barca" has been derived. Yet had Herodotus been accepted as an authority, it would be seen that he describes the region as not only not barren throughout, but in places remarkable for its fertility. The Beecheys indeed characterise the present inhabitants as a healthy, good-looking race, though, as their treatment of Rohlfs' expedition proved, still as treacherous and predatory as Leo described.—Rohlfs, *Reise von Tripoli nach Alexandrien* (1871); Borsari, *Geog. etnol. e Storica della Tripolitana, Cyrenaica e Fezzan*, pp. 159 *et seq.*; Beechey, *Report*, etc., p. 266.

(11) There is some slip of the pen here, for Pory rightly marks the passage. Sus (p. 248) and Guzula (p. 281) have already been described in Morocco. Capes (*Gabes*, p. 760) is in Tunis, but "Helchemna" (Elchemma) is not so clear: it is not mentioned under that name in any other part of Leo's narrative.

(12) Tesserit, Tenzert, or Tichert. Perhaps Tizzert and Tizzut are different places.

(13) For "Elmath", see Edrisi (ed. Hartmann), p. 130. The *addux* antelope is, in the language of the Northern Tuaregs, *el-mehâ*.—Duveyrier, *Les Touaregs du Nord*, p. 225. Marmol describes Guaden as a large open village, which he visited with the Shereef Mohammed. The people of it trafficked with the Portuguese at Arguin, a statement a little difficult to credit, unless the village lay much farther south than Leo puts it. The place, if not Wadan (Ouadan), a short journey from Arguin, may be Wad Nun—Renou, *Expl. Scientifique de l'Algérie*, t. ii, p. 281.

(14) Also called Ofran, Oufran, Offeran, and under these names known to the Morocco traders. Marmol calls it Ufaran. The inhabitants traded in Leo's day with Agadir or Gartguessem (p. 253) the Carguesse of Marmol. Cochelet enumerates 150 houses, the population being half Jewish.—*Naufrage du brick français La Sophie perdus le* 30 *mai* 1819, *sur la côte occidentale d'Afrique*, etc., t. ii, p. 331.

(15) The Aca of Marmol, the well-known oasis of Akka. Lenz, *Timbuktu*, vol. i, p. 85, vol. ii, p. 6.

(16) Dra, Drah, Draa. In summer this river is almost dry, and the Debaia, an expansion on its upper course, which has been described as a "great lake", becomes a Sebka or marsh. Indeed, it is filled with water for only a short period of the year, and at times can be cultivated for quick-growing crops.

(17) The Beni Sbih, an important place in the district of Ktaua visited by Rohlfs. Ktaua is evidently Marmol's Quiteoa, while Tanzetta is his Tinzeda. He also mentions Taragale, Tinzulin (Rohlfs'

Tunsulin), Tamegrut, Tabernost (perhaps Tabernoust), Afra, and Timesquit (probably Rohlfs' Mesgeta, or Mezquitta, or Tineskit, the Berber name for a mosque). Mouette's Lafera, a cavernous mountain in the vicinity of Zaimby, called by Marmol Taragale, or Taragalelt, or Tareggâlet, is the Jebel Sagora.—Rohlfs, *Mein Erster Aufenthalt in Marokko* (Dritte Ausgabe), p. 440; De Castries, "Notice sur la région de l'oued Draâ," *Bull. de Soc. Géog. Paris*, December 1880, p. 497.

(18) Sigilmásiyah, Segelmessa, Sigilmassa, Sugulmesse, Sedschelmesa, has been always reckoned as practically synonymous with Tafilet, as indeed it is, the place being spoken of long after it was destroyed and its successor established in its stead. But, in reality, though the area of the modern kingdom of Tafilet—the cradle of the present dynasty of Morocco—is nearly coterminous with that of Segelmessa, the two towns are quite distinct, as are also the past and the present divisions of the country. The history of the town of Segelmessa is much the same as that of the country. It was founded, according to El-Bekri, not by the Romans, but in A.H. 140 (A.D. 757), at the period when the Khalifs of Cordova declared themselves independent of the Khalifs of the East, and caused the ruin of the towns of Terra (Berah) and Ziz. After being successively under the rule of Yussuf Ben Tashfin and Abd el-Mumen, the civil wars during the reign of the Beni-Marini ended in the ruin of the city, the inhabitants retreating into detached Kusûr (plural of Ksar), which they erected in different oases. These really constitute the modern Tafilet. Yet long after the place had lost all its former importance and had even ceased to exist, Arab and European writers copying them, spoke of Segelmessa as only another name for Tafilet. Leo does so, and Marmol, after copying all that Leo says about Tafilet, adds that it is an ancient Berber town, built on a sandy plain, and of some commercial importance. Walckenaer (*Recherches*, p. 285), D'Avezac (*Etudes*, p. 162), and Cooley (*Negroland*, p. 5) actually contended that the two names were really those of the same city. Graberg de Hemsö (*Specchio*, pp. 63, 64), a most uncritical writer, was in this case more accurate. But as late as A.H. 1218 (A.D. 1803) Abu-l-Kâsim ben Ahmed Ezziâni refers to an army under Dahman Essoueda, Amil of the Sahara, marching to Segelmessa. Mr. Harris describes the Tafilet ksars as large and strongly fortified, and possessing each one a gate at which the stranger is keenly scrutinised by the "boab", or door-keeper. The ruins of Segelmessa are in the district of Wad Ifli, and bear evidence to the city having been a large one. Nothing now remains of its former greatness but crumbling walls, a mosque and minaret in tolerable repair, and a broken-down bridge over the Wad Ziz. "Tabia" seems to have been chiefly used in its construction,

and there are few traces of stone buildings. The very name of the town seems to have disappeared with its greatness; for, though the fame of "Segelmessa" is remembered, its ruins are known as Medinat ul-'âmira—"the Royal City". The canal made to carry the water supply from the deep river-bed to the town is of such unusually good workmanship that the water still flows fast and clear between its well-formed banks, and several little bridges in good repair cross the ditch. Yet Segelmessa in its lowly condition is still revered for what it was; and twice a year, on the 'Id el-Kebîr and the 'Id eṣ-Ṣaghîr, the two great Moslem feasts, a large concourse of people meet to pray at the Musallâ, or "place of prayer" near the old mosque, which has been a silent witness of so many unwritten events in the lurid history of Morocco. Major Raverty tells us that it is mentioned, among other Arabic documents, in the *Maslik wa Mamâlik*, and about A.D. 950 Ibn Haukal (*Oriental Geog.*, p. 17) refers to it as distant nearly fifty "merhalah" (or days' journey) from Kairwan. Edrisi mentions "Segelmesa", under which name it is also referred to by Ibn el-Wardi. Abu-l-feda, on the authority of Ibn Said, describes "Sedgelmasah" (Solvet's ed., p. 67; Reinaud's ed., t. ii, p. 189) as the capital of a considerable province watered by a river bordered with gardens. It had eight gates, and by whichever of them the traveller passed out he saw the river, date palms, and other trees. A wall of forty miles in circumference surrounded city and gardens alike. The Obaidian Ismailian, or Fatimite dynasty of Egypt rose to power here (A.D. 909, A.H. 296) in the person of Obaid Allah al-Mahdi, who on the 8th of Rabî' ul-Awwal, A.H. 297 (November, A.D. 910), was proclaimed Khalîfa. It is not until early in the sixteenth century that Tafilet is generally spoken of by the Moorish historians. In 1530 the Shereefs Ahmed and Mohammed occupied Tafilet and left a garrison there.

Tafilet, Tafilêlt, or Tafilâlt is, however, a comparatively modern name, and is said, according to a local legend, to be derived from a Shereef who settled here, or at Faja, and taught the Berbers to fertilise the dates which had hitherto produced little fruit—a circumstance which gave the Shereefs a monopoly of date-planting. In memory of this public benefactor, Faja, even then a considerable place, was named Filâl, after his birthplace in Arabia, and by Berber orthography it became Fafilelt and its inhabitants Filâli—or Fild el-Filâli, as they are called in Algeria. The present Imperial dynasty is the Filâli, its founder having been a Shereef of this still favourite retreat of his descendants. This legend is perhaps substantially correct, except in ascribing to the Filâl Shereef the fecundation of dates: for, though he might have introduced some improvement in the cultivation of a fruit which is now the almost sole wealth of the oases, and is sent for the most part to England, he could not have quite done

what the exaggeration of ages attributes to him, since in the neighbouring countries, well known to the Berbers of this region, the Romans grew dates exactly as their successors do at this moment.—Renou, *Exploration Scientifique de l'Algérie*, t. viii, p. 129; and in addition to Mr. Harris's paper (*Geog. Journal*, April 1895, vol. v, pp. 317-336); Delbrel, "Notes sur le Tafilet"; *Bull. Soc. Géog. Paris*, t. xv (1894), pp. 109-227 (with caution); De Castries, *Bull. Soc. Géog. Paris*, April 1867, p. 337; Rohlfs, *Reise durch Marokko*, etc. (Vierte Ausgabe), pp. 60, *et seq.*; Caillié, *Travels through Central Africa*, etc. (Eng. Trans.), vol. ii, pp. 174, *et seq.*; "On the Vicissitudes of Segelmessa", *Notices et Extraits*, t. xii, pp. 600, *et seq.*; and Raverty, *Geog. Journal*, vol. vi (August 1895), p. 189. Major Raverty's letter contains a valuable series of notes on "Sigilmasiyah". But it quotes Leo incorrectly in saying that he refers to "Tafilat" as famous for dates. Leo does not mention the name.

(19) In Leo's day, the province of Segelmessa extended from Gherseluin for nearly 120 miles, according to the boundaries he indicates.

(20) This is a defile "40 miles" long (according to Leo's overestimate) between Tamrakescht (Tamaracrost, Tamaroc of Caillié) and Ksar es-Suk, called Kheneg, a name applied to several cañon-like glens in Southern Morocco. The one under consideration is noticed by the "Imam el-'Aïachi" in his journey made in A.D. 1662-63 (*Expl. Scientifique de l'Algérie*, vol. ix, p. 6). It is also mentioned in the native itineraries printed by D'Avezac, *Etudes de Géog. critique sur une partie de l'Afrique Sept.*, p. 160.

(21) Medrara, Metrara, Mdaara, Mdaghra, or Medgharah (*Itinerary* of Ahmed el-Melsyuni; D'Avezac, *Etudes de Géog. critique*, etc., p. 60), a well-known oasis with about forty ksars.—De Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, pp. 227, 233, etc.

(22) Reteb, Reseb, or Ertib. It is noticed under that name by El-'Aïachi (*lib. cit.*, p. 9) as early as 1662, and in D'Avezac's native itineraries (*Etudes de Géog. critique*, p. 160). Marmol calls it Retel, or Arratane, and remarks that it was inhabited by the "Antgariz" Berbers, who spoke a corrupt dialect of the Berber language.

(23) In the Tafilet country "castles" or ksars—that is, fortified villages—are very numerous, as noticed by El-'Aïachi more than two centuries ago—that voyager, however, still describing the country as Segelmessea (*Expl. Scient. de l'Algérie*, t. ix, pp. xxxi, 9, 10). Tenegent (Teneguent), Tebru'acant (Tebuhasan of Leo, Tebuaçant of Marmol), and Mâmum, misprinted "Meniun", *ut infrâ* (Ksar el-Mâmun), are all known from native itineraries or by actual observation.

M. Delbrel describes the ksars and dwellings of Tafilet as all "built by earth mixed with dung"—a kind of "tabia" or concrete.

(24) There is no proof that the Romans had anything to do with Segelmessa. But in quoting El-Bekri ("Becri") for the first time Leo is incorrect, as that historian puts its foundation in A.D. 757. "The common people" who are fond of attributing works to the "Two-Horned Iskander" (Alexander), may, however, have entertained the absurdity mentioned; see note 18.

(25) This is, perhaps, "Zuaihila"; but it is not now known to be in existence. It is the Suahyla of Marmol (*L'Afrique*, t. iii, p. 22), who describes it as close to the River Ziz, which forms a large lake in the Sahara sands. This "sebka" forms at times (under the name of Daia et Daura), but is not constant.

(26) (H)umeledgr is not now known to be in existence.

(27) Umelhefet, as the name probably was, is not known to any traveller, or to any visitor whom I have had an opportunity of questioning. Marmol, who calls it Vmelhefel, and repeats Leo's description, mentions that it was garrisoned by the Shereef's people, who levied a quarter of an escu (crown) for every camel, and from the Jews who visited the place the same taxes as they were accustomed to pay when the Ksar was under an Arab Sheikh. This is, however, a mere variation of Leo's account.

(28) Tebelbelt is mentioned in the *Itinerary* of Mohammed, a Shereef of Feda, as three days' journey from that place, and one from Tidelkelt, the principal place in the Tuat oasis. Caillié also notes "Tabelbat" as six days' journey east of Mimsina (*Journal d'un Voyage*, etc., t. iii, p. 54).—Renou, *Expl. Scientifique de l'Algérie*, t. viii, p. 142.

(29) Todgha, or Todga district, and the Wad Todgha, or Todra (as De Foucauld spells it), are both well known.—*Reconnaissance au Maroc*, p. 223, etc. Mr. Harris visited the locality in 1893.—*Geog. Journal*, vol. v, pp. 327, 328.

(30) The modern Ferkla, on the Wad Todgha (Map 16 of De Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, pp. 223, 224, 356, etc.).

(31) Tazarin, on a tributary of the Draa. The district is an oasis, larger and better peopled than Todgha. Its ksars are inhabited by Shella Berbers. There are no Jews in the district, but a ruined Mellah at Aït Abbarul is a proof of their former residence. (De Foucauld, *Reconnaissance*, etc., p. 364.) It is the Tezerin of Marmol, who adds that here were the ruins of two towns destroyed by the first

Arab hordes who entered Africa: but their name was not known. This, too, is a mere variation on Leo's account. Tezzerin is not an uncommon name in Barbary.

(32) Beni Gumi, according to Marmol, had eight ksars and fifteen open villages, the inhabitants of which were poor and sought employment in Fez, where they filled the humblest offices. No locality bearing that name is known in the vicinity of the Wad Gir; and it is scarcely permissible to accept Quatremère's suggestion that the "Tenhhayâmyn" of El-Bekri (*Notices et extraits*, etc., p. 173) is really "Bendjamin", which by another corruption became Beni Gumi. Besides, the one name is as little known as the other at the present day. Marmol makes the blunder of putting the distance of the Beni Gumi as 50 leagues, instead of 150 miles, to the south-east of Segelmessa.

(33) These ksars cannot be satisfactorily identified, and, like many similar wasps'-nests in this region, may very probably have been destroyed since Leo's day. The Uled Bu Anan country is on the upper Ghir in the vicinity of El-Bahariat.

(34) Perhaps Ksar, the castle or fortified place (?) The presence of antimony and lead mines ought to help us to identify the locality. Antimony (kohl) is commonly sold in Fez, and is described as being brought from beyond the Atlas. But the exact spot, either through ignorance, or quite as likely unwillingness to impart information, could never be ascertained by me.

(35) The situation of Beni-Besseri is still very uncertain, in spite of its iron mine.

(36) Guachde or Gualde of Marmol cannot now be identified.

(37) The oasis of Figig, or Figiug, is well known; it is likely to figure extensively in the political complications of the future as a point whence a force could advance from Algeria upon Fez.—Perrot, *Bull. de Soc. Géog. Paris* (October, 1881), p. 273, and map; *Ibid.*, January, 1872; Castries, *Ibid.*, 1882, 2e trimestre, p. 401 (with maps).

(38) Tesebit, Tecevin of Marmol, is the Teçâbet of El-'Aïachi.

(39) "Tegorarin" (Tigurârin) is in El-Aïachi's *Itinerary* written Tedjourarin. Tegorârin is the ancient Berber name of Gurâra, a well-known town and district.—Bissuel, *Le Sahara Français* (1891), p. 13, *et seq.*; Carette, *Expl. Scientifique de l'Algérie*, t. ii, pp. 102-3, etc. M. Carette, and M. Renou following him, affirms that Tegoaren is the Berber plural of Gurâra. In reality the plural is Grair.—Deporter, *Extrême Sud de l'Algérie* (1890), p. 105.

In A.H. 989 (A.D. 1581-82), though De Slane translating the same passage makes the event to have happened in A.H. 998 (A.D. 1588-89). Abu-l-Abbâs Ahmed el-Mansur (Ahmed Sherif) sent an army under the Kaïds Ahmed ben Barka (Bereka) and Ahmed ben El-Haddâd El-Ghamri El-Maâkili to subdue Tigurârin and Juat.—De Slane, "Conquête du Soudan par les Marocains en l'an 998 (1588-89 de J.C.)"; *Revue Africaine*, No. 4, t. i, p. 288; Eloufrâni, *Nozhet Elhâdi*, pp. 154, 155, 173.

(40) The M'zab country consists of five oases, and contains about 40,000 people, owning 200,000 date palms. In 1882 the country was annexed to Algeria. Gurâra or Guerara, a prosperous — almost luxurious—Saharan town, is included in the M'zab (note 39).—Tristram, *The Great Sahara*, p. 195.

(41) Tuggurt, a prosperous town, built for the most part of sun-dried bricks, still bears traces of its former connection with Tunis. It is now part of Algeria, but of the population of 8,000 very few are Europeans. Tuggurt (Tougourt, Tekkert, Ticart, Ticurti, Techor, Tacort, Teggourt, Ticarte, Tuggart), the capital of the Wad Rîr, was formerly under the family of Yussef Ibn Obeid Allah, and until lately under that of the Beni-Jellâb, who were related to the Beni-Marini. In A.D. 1341-42, Mohammed Ibn Hakim, the Beni Hafs general, after putting Biskra under tribute, sacked and, it is believed, destroyed Tuggurt, the site of which was more than a mile from the present town. Haëdo tells us that in 1552 Salah Reis of Algiers took "Ticart", plundered it, and sold 12,000 of the inhabitants into slavery. Two hundred years later (1789) Sallah, Bey of Constantine, after a six months' siege, only spared it from destruction on Sheikh Ferrat's payment of a heavy ransom. In 1821, the Tuggurt people, not paying their tribute regularly, were besieged by Ahmed el-Mameluk, Bey of Constantine, who was, however, repulsed. After the capture of Biskra in 1844, Tuggurt recognised the French authority, and, with the exception of revolts in 1854 and 1870, "the belly of the desert" has since then remained sulkily faithful to the masters of Algeria.—Piesse, *Algérie*, p. 322; Tristram, *The Great Sahara*, p. 268, *et seq.*; Duveyrier, *Comptes rendus de la Soc. Géog. Paris* (1886), No. 1, p. 26. The Kasba is built of dressed stone, which is by some antiquaries taken as a proof of its Roman origin, in fact of its being the Turaphylum of Ptolemy; but there is no evidence for this theory. Leo—probably following the Arab maxim that in the Sahara "he who is not reaped by the sword sees days without end"—says nothing about the marshes and salt lakes near Tuggurt, which in April give rise to a most malignant fever.

(42) Wargla (Ouargla), Guerguela and Guerguelen (Marmol), Huerguela (Haëdo), Ouârkelân (Edrisi), Vareklan (Hartmann), Ouâr-

quelan (El-Bekri), Wurglah (Shaw), Wargalah (Shales), Wurgelah (Hodgson), Guargala or Huerguela (Gramaye, according as he copies Leo or Haëdo), Ouergelah (D'Avezac, *Etudes de Géog. Critique*, p. 27). This is an old town; its citizens, indeed, declare it to be the oldest in the Sahara. Ibn Khaldoun mentions that Ibn Yezid, the Nekanti, took refuge here in A.H. 325 (A.D. 957), and in A.D. 1372 the rebellious Abu Zeiyan made a stand in Wargla. Abu Zekeria, of the Beni-Hafsi, was amazed at the prosperity of the town, and reared in it a mosque which bears the name of its founder, and which, when El-Aïachi visited the town in A.D. 1663, was the most notable object in it. Many M'zab inhabit the city, but none are found in the Beni-Braham quarter, all those who lived there having been massacred in one night (1652).—Colomieu, *Tour du Monde* (1863), pp. 161-208; Demaeght, *Bull. Soc. Géog. Oran*, vol. i, p. 82; Rolland, *Revue Scientifique*, January 6th, 1883, etc.

(43) Zab, or Zibân, a number of oases, consisting in Ibn Khaldoun's day of Zab Shergi, Zab Gebli, and Zab Dahrâwiûn, respectively on the East, South, and North. Urbain, "Les Zibans—Oases du Sahara Algerien", *Revue de l'Orient*, 1844, t. v, pp. 316-19; Rasch, *Nach den Oasen von Seban in der grossen Wüste Sahara* (1866); Piesse, "Voyage aux Zibans", *Bull. Trim. de Géog. Oran* (1885), pp. 66-78.

Ziban is pl. of Zab, from the Roman Savus, the Wad Jedi, "the river of the Kid" (of Shaw), flowing from W. to E. from El-Aghut towards Biskra (Playfair, *Bib. of Algeria*, No. 4391). Zab was the Zebe or Zabe of the ancients, once a part of Mauritania Sitifensis (Procopius, *De Bello Vandalico*, lib. xi, c. 20).

(44) Biskra, Biscara of Shaw, Biskra en-Nokkel (Biskra among the Palms) of the Arabs, a well-known oasis, becoming rapidly a favourite watering-place. Biskra was the Ad Piscinam of the Romans. In Ibn Khaldoun's day it was the capital of the Zab, and El-Bekri describes it as rich in dates and olives, surrounded by a wall and ditch, and containing many mosques and baths. Ibn Said, according to the information communicated to Abu-l-feda, mentions its trade in dates with Tunis and Bougie. Edrisi also takes note of it as a central spot, from and to which he reckons the distances of other places. Scorpions and other venomous animals are by no means unknown in the oases, but are not so troublesome as in Leo's day; and the "Biskris" are celebrated as snake-charmers, though most of the performers come from El-Faid and Chegga to the south.

(45) Borgi, or Bourg of the "Carte des Régences d'Alger et de Tunis", attached to Macarthy's French translation of Shaw (*Voyage dans la Régence d'Alger*, etc., 1830).

(46) Nefta, an oasis town of Tunis, with 9,000 inhabitants, occupied in the growth of splendid dates, oranges, figs, and other fruits, and the weaving of wool into gauzy "sefsars", etc. An ancient city which preceded Nefta, but is now buried under the sands, may be the Aggar Selnepte, or Aggarsel-Nepte of the *Peutinger Table*, mentioned as the Episcopus Neptitanus, or Neptensis. Nefta is sometimes called Mersat es-Sahâra (the Desert Port), and a Kadi of Jerîd declared to M. Tissot in 1853 that towards the close of the last century the remains of a ship had been found at Ghaltûn esh-Shurafâ, the spot which tradition assigns for the port of Nefta on the Shatt el-Jerîd. The barrage of the Wad Nefta is built of Roman hewn blocks of stone. Temple regarded Nefta as the Negeta of Ptolemy.—Temple, *Excursions*, etc., vol. ii, pp. 172, 173; Tissot, *La Province Romaine*, t. ii, 685, 686; Piesse, *Algérie et Tunisie*, p. 448.

(47) This place is mentioned by Edrisi (Dozy and de Goeje's edition, p. 124) as Louhaca; by Ibn Haukal as Lâûha, or Lâûja, and by El-Bekri as Tûlka. But the difference is not great in reality, for the letter *t*, by which the name is begun by El-Bekri and Leo, is doubtless the Berber article. It is the Tulgah of Shaw, and the Taolgha of D'Avezac, who cites "Thoulqah" as El-Bekri's orthography.—*Etudes de Géog. Critique*, etc., p. 74.

(48) Dousan of Shaw.

(49) Biledulgerio is a misprint for Biledulgerid, which, again, is a rude spelling of Bilâd el-Jerîd—the Dry Country.

(50) Tozer, a Tunisian oasis town embosomed in date-palms, which form the chief source of the wealth of the 7,000 inhabitants. It occupies the site of Ptolemy's Tisurus (Τίσουρος), the Thusurus of the *Peutinger Table*. In El-Bekri's day it was a fine town, with many mosques, bazaars, strong walls, and several gates. In one quarter Roman remains are often found. Wells, a basilica with several rows of columns, the base of a minaret, etc., are among the most prominent remnants of antiquity in a town which Shaw (who never saw it) declared would dissolve and drop to pieces were it subjected to a tolerably heavy shower of rain (see *Introduction*). This is, however, an exaggeration; for though mud hovels are plentiful, the town contains some really substantial and even handsome houses.—Temple, *Excursions*, etc., vol. ii, p. 272.

(51) Kafsa, Gafsa, the Capsa in which Jugurtha took refuge, and out of the materials of which ancient town the modern one is largely built. "Built of clay . . . no antiquities" was about all that Bruce found to say about this town, which lies near the Wad Baïach. But since then some inscriptions have been found, and from Leo's description it would seem that in his day the Roman pavement was in

existence. But nothing now remains of the marble porticos described by El-Bekri (*Description de l'Afrique*, p. 113). The bad character which Leo attributes to the citizens is taken from a libellous rhyming proverb of the Bilâd el-Jerid: "Kafsa is miserable—its inhabitants are weary—its water blood—its air poison—you stay there a hundred years without making a friend." The place must, however, have always been of strategic importance, and from its position commercially advantageous. Taken by El-Mansur in the war which he carried on against Ishak el-Mayorki, it was dismantled after having arisen from the ruin which had more than once previously—notably when Marius wreaked his vengeance—overtaken it. The walls, then levelled, have not been rebuilt, but its citadel, one of the most curious specimens of ancient Arab architecture, still remains.—Tissot, *La Province Romaine*, t. ii, pp. 664-673; Guérin, *Voyage Archéologique*, t. i, p. 272; *Tour du Monde*, 1885, t. ii, p. 415; 1886, pp. 193, 195, 197; Cagnat, *Explorations*, t. iii, p. 66; Playfair, *Travels in the Footsteps of Bruce*, p. 267.

(52) A group of little oases—Nefzâwa.

(53) Teggery of Lyon (*Travels in North Africa*, p. 239), the most southern town in Fezzan, is the Tegérri of Barth (*Travels*, etc., vol. v, p. 442); a poor place, scarcely more than a village.

(54) Yaslite of Marmol. As early as the seventh century the Ben Isliten were a Nefzâwa tribe of Berbers, who had their home in the eastern part of Barbary. The Beni Isliten were also a division of the Ursettif, a great family of western Berbers. Many tribes mentioned by Ibn Khaldoun are now entirely extinct, or have coalesced with others. The Iasliten of Leo were likely the first mentioned, and lay west of the Nefzâwa country already mentioned.

(55) Ghadames (the Cydamus of Pliny, according to an identification of D'Anville and Mannert) is still a great place of trade. Merchants from Timbuktu and Tuat meet here, and inhabitants of the town may be found at these places and at Kano, Katsena, and other centres in the Sudan.

(56) Fezzan, the ancient Phazania or country of the Garamantes, now a *Kâimakâmlik* of the Vilayet of Tripoli, but, at the time Leo wrote, it was an independent state under the dynasty of Uled Mohammed. The last of the Uled Mohammed Sultans was killed in 1811 by El-Mukkeni, a lieutenant of Yussuf Pasha, the last sovereign of the Karamânli dynasty of Tripoli. After being for twenty years under El-Mukkeni, Abd el-Jelîl usurped the throne and kept the country in a ferment, until Bakir Bey of Tripoli defeated and slew him, and annexed Fezzan to the Ottoman empire. Muzuek is the present

capital of the *Kâimakâmlik*. There is little trade, though until recently many slaves passed through the country to be surreptitiously sold in Tripoli and Tunis, and to reach Egypt through Augila (Augela). Indeed, only lately there were reports of slaves having come by way of Fezzan to Bengazi. Dates form the staple food; camels are commonly eaten in this region, though too valuable to be utilised as an article of diet, if cheaper supplies can be obtained.

(57) Gualata is Walâta, the position of which puzzled the geographers of eighty or ninety years ago. The Desert of Zanhaga is the country of the Zenega or Zanzaga of some early native itineraries. The desert, which Leo thus divides up after his usual plan of geographical nomenclature by the tribes inhabiting it, is, of course, the Sahara; though, unlike some of his successors, he was well aware that it was not all sand nor even all desert. All he could have intended to indicate by the "Desert of Zanhaga" was that the section of Berbers so-called extended at the time he wrote over the region of which the bounds were noted.—Renou, *Expl. Scientifique de l'Algérie*, t. ii, pp. 291, 292; Barth, *Travels*, etc., vol. iv, pp. 591-594, v, 486.

(58) Gogadem appears in Edrisi (ed. Jaubert, p. 260) as Çocaden in the Gerewah or Upper Nile. Mr. Cooley considers that the desert and town may have derived their name from Goghedem in the Atlas. In reality, the desert described by Leo seems to be the well-known drifting sands of Igidi, lying in the caravan route from Morocco to Timbuktu. The desert of Ghir may be Ibn Batuta's Kahir; in any case, it is no doubt the desert country south of the Gir river. Guber is, as we shall see in Book VII, Góber.

(59) Targa, the now familiar Tuaregs or Tuariks, the roaming "pirates of the desert", a Berber race. Targa is the name of their country, Targî of the inhabitants—fem., Targiyya. Tuâreg is the plural of Targî. So Leo Africanus speaks of these tribes of the desert as "Targha Popolo"—Richardson, *Travels in the Great Sahara Desert*, vol. ii, p. 139. Richardson—who, however, spoke of Agades simply from hearsay—rightly characterises Leo's account of this part of Africa as extremely meagre and unsatisfactory. No mention is made of the Tuâregs of Ghat, and "the story about the abundance of manna gathered in the districts of Aheer seems to have been inserted to please the Christian doctors of Rome; at any rate, nothing of the kind is now seen or known at Aghadez. But with respect to foreigners who visit Aheer and Aghadez enjoying good health, I have no doubt the renegade is correct, for I have not heard of either of these places being unhealthy, their salubrity arising, we may imagine, from the elevation at which they are placed" (*Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 146). Leo's description may

nevertheless be approximately correct, the desert whirlwinds not unfrequently strewing portions of Central Africa with lichen torn from the mountains; and it has been suggested that these constitute the manna which is described as falling in the desert of the Exodus. The *min* which exudes from the tamarisk of the Sinai Peninsula, and has generally been accepted as the manna of the Exodus, is still an article of commerce. "Fura", or "Ghusub", water drunk or supped, may be the "daintie and pretious drinke" described (Barth., *Travels*, etc., vol. i, p. 414). But it is not made with manna, but by water being poured on Ghusub grain, after the grain—a species of millet (*Panicum milliaceum*)—has been parboiled or otherwise prepared. A milky substance oozes from the kernels, and makes a very pleasant beverage, greatly esteemed for its cooling quality in summer. Sometimes a few dates are pounded with the ghusub. Gusub (Gueçob) is, however, a sort of generic name applied by the Arabs to several plants. "Tuath" is Tuat, the oasis of that name.—Duveyrier, *Les Touareg du Nord*, p. 207.

(60) The Lemta were in the middle ages a very powerful Berber race, and from them sprung the Lemtuna tribe, who gained for the Almoravides the throne of Morocco and much of the rest of North Africa. The Lemta occupied originally the western part of the Sahara contiguous to the Atlantic, their country extending from Morocco to the Niger. Splitting into a number of tribes, the area of the section bearing their name seems to have shrunk in Leo's days, though it was still very large.—Carette, *Expl. Scientifique de l'Algérie*, t. iii, chap. v.

(61) Berdoa is generally regarded (as D'Anville and Delisle suggested) as the same as Burgu or Burku; as such it appears on Rennell's map attached to Horniman's *Journal of Travels from Cairo to Mourzouk* (1802), p. 158. In reality, it is a little further east near the Libyan desert, though the Berdoa (Bardoa, Birdeva, Berdeva) divide with the Touareg the distinction of being the nomads of the great African desert. They are of the Tibbu stock, or, as they call themselves, Tedá, of which they are the most easterly branch.—Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, vol. ii, pp. 187-191.

(62) The Wad Nun country on the Atlantic, Leo having a habit of jumping about rather suddenly in the region which he is describing. Guaden we have tentatively identified as the town of Wad Nun.

(63) Tegazza or Teghâza. Rennell suggested that it might be Tishît, where there are salt mines. Teghâza is described by El-Bekri (*Not. et Ext.*, p. 436) as being two days from the Great Desert, over which passes the road from Ghânah, and twenty from Segelmessa. Though there are many "salines" in

that country, Cooley considers that Ghaza (at which the Morabite general, Abu Bekr ben Omar, purchased negro slaves, whom he sent to Spain in exchange for European slaves to recruit his army), was merely Teghâza, mutilated by the Spanish writers (Conde, *Historia de la dominacion de los Arabes en España*, etc., vol. ii, p. 86). When Ibn Batuta visited it in A.H. 753 (A.D. 1352) he found it a poor place, with no culture and few resources. The houses and mosque were built of blocks of salt-stone and roofed with camels' skins. There was no cultivation around the town; all was sand, in which lay the salt mine (Ibn Batuta, ed. Defrémery et Sanguinette, t. iv, p. 377). It is generally accepted that the wells called by Caillié (*Journal d'un Voyage*, etc., t. ii, p. 417) Trarzas, or Trasas, mark the site of Teghâza, though Cooley, with characteristic love of contradiction, inclines to think that they owe the name to the tribe which dug them. In all this region, on the caravan road through the desert to Morocco, there are many ruined towns, deserted owing to the decay of the salt trade.

(64) Augila (Αὔγιλα) was known to Herodotus as the centre of a district in which the Nasamones from the shores of the Great Syrtis gathered dates (Herodotus, iv, chap. clxxii). It is curious to find that when Pacho visited it in 1825, the nomades from the same district came in autumn to lay in a supply of dates at "Audjelah", just as their forefathers had done five hundred years B.C., and no doubt a great deal earlier (*Voyages dans la Cyrénaïque*, p. 263). Abu-l-feda (ed. Solvet, p. 29) simply mentions "Audjalah" (spelt with a *jîm* and a *lâm*), as an isle with dates and springs in the midst of the sands between Maghreb and the Wahat. Edrisi goes further, and characterises it as a populous little town, most of the inhabitants of which were merchants doing business with Negroland. Horniman, who was the first European to visit it in modern times, though he left but a meagre account, described the place as consisting (in 1798) of badly-built limestone houses of one story, lighted by the doors, and generally arranged round a small courtyard. The inhabitants for the most part follow sedentary occupations, though some travel with the caravans between Cairo and Murzak, in Fezzan. Round the town the sandy soil (being well watered) is tolerably fertile. But, as Leo says, corn is so scarce as not to suffice for the people's wants, their supply being obtained by bartering sheep for it with the Bengazi Arabs. See also Beaufoy, *Proc. African Assoc.*, chap. v.

(65) This place is mentioned by Edrisi (ed. Hartmann, pp. 135, 294, 295, 296, 304, 305) as Sort, 246 geographical (230 Arabic) miles from Tripoli, which would place it near either Mahad Hassan or at Zaffian, or perhaps at Jedîd, at all of which places there are piles of ruins. One of these is evidently Leo's Sert, though his

details do not admit of localising it in a country full of the vestiges of vanished cities. Abu-l-feda (ed. Solvet, p. 141) also describes the remains of Sort as east of a gulf called Rodaik, or Rodakiah, the Zadic Sinus of Edrisi, a bay too loosely indicated to admit of its identification. El-Bekri (*Not. et Extraits*, etc., t. xii, p. 450) also notices it. The term Sort, or Sert, is not now applied by the Arabs to any town, but is merely used to designate the tract of country which lies between Suleb and Barca. Within this district are the ruins of Medina, "*the* city", which also puts in a claim to be Sert.—Beechey, *Proceedings*, etc., 150-154. Barth identifies it with Medinet Sultan, *Wanderungen*, etc., pp. 334, 388.

(66) This method of the guides piloting the "akkabaahs" or caravans across the desert by smelling the earth is described by Pellow (*Adventures*, etc., p. 198) and Jackson (*Account of Morocco*, p. 295). And Ibn Batuta, a much greater traveller than any of his successors, notes how on his journey into the Sudan, the conductor of the caravan with which he travelled, though more than half blind, never mistook the road.

(67) The true orthography of "Alguechet" is Al Wehet—or Wahat —"the oasis". It is difficult to identify it with any of the Egyptian oases already noticed.

# IOHN LEO HIS SEUENTH BOOKE OF the Historie of Africa, and *of the memorable things* contained therein.

*Wherein he intreateth of the land of Negros, and of the confines of Egypt.*

Vr ancient Chroniclers of Africa, to wit, *Bichri* and *Meshudi* knew nothing of the land of Negros but onely the regions of Guechet and Cano: for in their time all other places of the land of Negros were vndiscouered. But in the yeere of the Hegeira 380, by the meanes of a certaine Mahumetan which came into Barbarie, the residue of the said land was found out,[1] being as then inhabited by great numbers of people, which liued a brutish and sauage life, without any king, gouernour, common wealth, or knowledge of husbandrie. Clad they were in skins of beasts, neither had they any peculiar wiues: in the day time they kept their cattell; and when night came they resorted ten or twelue both men and women into one cottage together, using hairie skins instead of beds, and each man choosing his leman which he had most fancy vnto. Warre they wage against no other nation, ne yet are desirous to trauell out of their owne countrie. Some of them performe great adoration vnto

the sunne rising: others, namely the people of Gualata, worship the fire: and some others, to wit, the inhabitants of Gaoga, approch (after the Egyptians manner) neerervnto the Christian faith. These Negros were first subiect vnto king *Ioseph* the founder of Maroco, and afterward vnto the fiue nations of Libya; of whom they learned the Mahumetan lawe, and diuers needfull handycrafts: a while after when the merchants of Barbarie began to resort vnto them with merchandize, they learned the Barbarian language also. But the foresaid fiue people or nations of Libya diuided this land so among themselues, that euery third part of each nation possessed one region.[2] Howbeit the king of Tombuto that now raigneth, called *Abuacre Izchia*, is a Negro by birth: this *Abuacre* after the decease of the former king, who was a Libyan borne, slue all his sonnes, and so vsurped the kingdome. And hauing by warres for the space of fifteene yeeres conquered many large dominions, he then concluded a league with all nations, and went on pilgrimage to Mecca, in which iournie he so consumed his treasure, that he was constrained to borrow great summes of money of other princes.[3] Moreouer the fifteene kingdomes of Negros knowen to vs, are all situate vpon the riuer of Niger, and vpon other riuers which fall thereinto. And all the land of Negros standeth betweene two vast deserts, for on the one side lieth the maine desert betweene Numidia and it, which extendeth it selfe vnto this very land: and the south side thereof adioineth vpon another desert, which stretcheth from thence to the maine Ocean: in which desert are infinite nations vnknowen to vs, both by reason of the huge distance of place, and also in regarde of the diuersitie of languages and religions. They haue no traffique at all with our people, but we haue heard oftentimes of their traffique with the inhabitants of the Ocean sea shore.

*The Negros subiect vnto Ioseph king of Maroco.*

*Abuacre Izchia.*

*A description of the kingdome of Gualata.*

THis region in regarde of others is very small: for it containeth onely three great villages, with certaine granges and fields of dates. From Nun it is distant southward about three hundred, from Tombuto northward fiue hundred, and from the Ocean sea about two hundred miles. In this region the people of Libya, while they were lords of the land of Negros, ordained their chiefe princely seate: and then great store of Barbarie-merchants frequented Gualata: but afterward in the raigne of the mighty and rich prince *Heli*, the said merchants leauing Gualata, began to resort vnto Tombuto and Gago, which was the occasion that the region of Gualata grew extreme beggerly. The language of this region is called Sungai, and the inhabitants are blacke people, and most friendly vnto strangers. In my time this region was conquered by the king of Tombuto, and the prince thereof fled into the deserts, whereof the king of Tombuto hauing intelligence, and fearing least the prince would returne with all the people of the deserts, graunted him peace, conditionally that he should pay a great yeerely tribute vnto him, and so the said prince hath remained tributarie to the king of Tombuto vntill this present. The people agree in manners and fashions with the inhabitants of the next desert. Here groweth some quantitie of Mil-seed, and great store of a round & white kind of pulse, the like whereof I neuer saw in Europe; but flesh is extreme scarce among them. Both the men & the women do so couer their heads, that al their countenance is almost hidden. Here is no forme of a common wealth, nor yet any gouernours or iudges, but the people lead a most miserable life.[4]

*This round and white pulse is called Maiz in the west Indies.*

*A description of the kingdome of Ghinea.*

THis kingdome called by the merchants of our nation Gheneoa, by the natural inhabitants thereof Genni, and by the Portugals and other people of Europe Ghinea, standeth in the midst betweene Gualata on the north, Tombuto on the east, and the kingdome of Melli on the south. In length it containeth almost fiue hundred miles, and extendeth two hundred and fiftie miles along the riuer of Niger, and bordereth vpon the Ocean sea in the same place, where Niger falleth into the saide sea. This place exceedingly aboundeth with barlie, rice, cattell, fishes, and cotton: and their cotton they sell vnto the merchants of Barbarie, for cloth of Europe, for brazen vessels, for armour, and other such commodities. Their coine is of gold without any stampe or inscription at all: they haue certaine iron-money also, which they vse about matters of small valüe, some peeces whereof weigh a pound, some halfe a pound, and some one quarter of a pound. In all this kingdome there is no fruite to be found but onely dates, which are brought hither either out of Gualata or Numidia. Heere is neither towne nor castle, but a certaine great village onely, wherein the prince of Ghinea, together with his priestes, doctors, merchants, and all the principall men of the region inhabite. The walles of their houses are built of chalke, and the roofes are couered with strawe: the inhabitants are clad in blacke or blew cotton, wherewith they couer their heads also: but the priests and doctors of their law go apparelled in white cotton. This region during the three moneths of Iulie, August, and September, is yeerely enuironed with the ouerflowings of Niger in manner of an Island; all which time the merchants of Tombuto conueigh their merchandize hither in certaine Canoas or narrow boats made of one tree, which they rowe all the day long, but at night they binde them to the

*The naturall commodities of Ghinea.*

shore, and lodge themselues vpon the lande. This kingdome was subiect in times past vnto a certaine people of Libya, and became afterward tributarie vnto king *Soni Heli*, after whom succeeded *Soni Heli Izchia*, who kept the prince of this region prisoner at Gago, where togither with a certaine nobleman, he miserably died.

*The Prince of Ghinea kept prisoner by Izchia.*

## *Of the kingdome of Melli.*

THis region extending it selfe almost three hundred miles along the side of a riuer which falleth into Niger, bordereth northward vpon the region last described, southward vpon certaine deserts and drie mountaines, westward vpon huge woods and forrests stretching to the Ocean sea shore, and eastward vpon the territorie of Gago. In this kingdome there is a large and ample village containing to the number of sixe thousand or mo families, and called Melli, whereof the whole kingdome is so named. And here the king hath his place of residence. The region it selfe yeeldeth great abundance of corne, flesh, and cotton. Heere are many artificers and merchants in all places: and yet the king honourably entertaineth all strangers. The inhabitants are rich, and haue plentie of wares. Heere are great store of temples, priests, and professours, which professours read their lectures onely in the temples, bicause they haue no colleges at all. The people of this region excell all other Negros in witte, ciuilitie, and industry; and were the first that embraced the law of Mahumet, at the same time when the vncle of *Joseph* the king of Maroco was their prince, and the gouernment remained for a while vnto his posterity: at length *Izchia* subdued the prince of this region, and made him his tributarie, and so oppressed him with greeuous exactions, that he was scarce able to maintaine his family.[6]

*The prince of Melli subdued by Izchia.*

## *Of the kingdome of Tombuto.*

*Tombuto was conquered by the king of Maroco 1589. from whence he hath for yeerly tribute mightie summes of gold.*

THis name was in our times (as some thinke) imposed vpon this kingdome from the name of a certain towne so called, which (they say) king *Mense Suleiman* founded in the yeere of the Hegeira 610,[7] and it is situate within twelue miles of a certaine branch of Niger, all the houses whereof are now changed into cottages built of chalke, and couered with thatch. Howbeit there is a most stately temple to be seene, the wals whereof are made of stone and lime; and a princely palace also built by a most excellent workeman of Granada.[8] Here are many shops of artificers, and merchants, and especially of such as weaue linnen and cotton cloth. And hither do the Barbarie-merchants bring cloth of Europe. All the women of this region except maid-seruants go with their faces couered, and sell all necessarie victuals. The inhabitants, & especially strangers there residing, are exceeding rich, insomuch, that the king that * now is, married both his daughters vnto two rich merchants. Here are many wels, containing most sweete water; and so often as the riuer Niger ouerfloweth, they conueigh the water thereof by certaine sluces into the towne. Corne, cattle, milke, and butter this region yeeldeth in great abundance: but salt is verie scarce heere; for it is brought hither by land from Tegaza, which is fiue hundred miles distant. When I my selfe was here, I saw one camels loade of salt sold for 80. ducates. The rich king of Tombuto hath many plates and scepters of gold, some whereof weigh 1300. poundes: and he keepes a magnificent and well furnished court. When he trauelleth any whither he rideth vpon a camell, which is lead by some of his noblemen; and so he doth likewise when hee goeth to warfar, and all his souldiers ride vpon horses. Whosoeuer will speake vnto this king must first fall downe before his feete, & then taking vp earth

* 1586.

*The king of Tombuto his daughters married vnto two rich merchants.*

*Great scarcitie of salt in Tombuto, which commoditie might be supplied by our English merchants to their vnspeakable gaine.*

*Reuerence used before the king of Tombuto.*

must sprinkle it vpon his owne head & shoulders: which custom is ordinarily obserued by them that neuer saluted the king before, or come as ambassadors from other princes. He hath alwaies three thousand horsemen, and a great number of footmen that shoot poysoned arrowes, attending vpon him. They haue often skirmishes with those that refuse to pay tribute, and so many as they take, they sell vnto the merchants of Tombuto. Here are verie few horses bred, and the merchants and courtiers keepe certaine little nags which they vse to trauell vpon: but their best horses are brought out of Barbarie. And the king so soone as he heareth that any merchants are come to towne with horses, he commandeth a certaine number to be brought before him, and chusing the best horse for himselfe, he payeth a most liberall price for him.[9] He so deadly hateth all Iewes, that he will not admit any into his citie: and whatsoeuer Barbarie merchants he vnderstandeth haue any dealings with the Iewes, he presently causeth their goods to be confiscate. Here are great store of doctors, iudges, priests, and other learned men, that are bountifully maintained at the kings cost and charges. And hither are brought diuers manuscripts or written bookes out of Barbarie, which are sold for more money than any other merchandize.[10] The coine of Tombuto is of gold without any stampe or superscription: but in matters of smal value they vse certaine shels brought hither out of the kingdome of Persia, fower hundred of which shels are worth a ducate: and sixe peeces of their golden coine with two third parts weigh an ounce. The inhabitants are people of a gentle and chereful disposition, and spend a great part of the night in singing and dancing through all the streets of the citie: they keep great store of men and women-slaues, and their towne is much in danger of fire: at my second being there halfe the town almost was burnt in fiue howers space. With-

*Poysoned arrowes.*

*Shels vsed for coine like as in the kingdome of Congo.*

out the suburbs there are no gardens nor orchards at all.

*Of the towne of Cabra.*

THis large towne built without walles in manner of a village, standeth about twelue miles from Tombuto vpon the riuer Niger: and here such merchants as trauel vnto the kingdomes of Ghinea and Melli embarke themselues. Neither are the people or buildings of this towne any whit inferiour to the people and buildings of Tombuto; and hither the Negros resort in great numbers by water. In this towne the king of Tombuto appointeth a judge to decide all controuersies; for it were tedious to goe thither so oft as need should require. I my selfe am acquainted with *Abu Bacr*, sirnamed *Pargama*, the kings brother, who is blacke in colour, but most beautifull in minde and conditions. Here breed many diseases which exceedingly diminish the people; and that by reason of the fond and loathsome mixture of their meats; for they mingle fish, milke, butter, and flesh altogither. And this is the ordinarie food also in Tombuto.[11]

*Of the towne and kingdome of Gago.*

THE great towne of Gago[12] being vnwalled also, is distant southward of Tombuto almost fower hundred miles, and enclineth somewhat to the southeast. The houses thereof are but meane, except those wherein the king and his courtiers remaine. Here are exceeding rich merchants: and hither continually resort great store of Negros which buy cloth here brought out of Barbarie and Europe. This towne aboundeth with corne and flesh, but is much destitute of wine, trees, and fruits. Howbeit here is plentie of melons, citrons, and rice: here are many welles also containing most sweete and holesome water. Here is likewise a certaine place where slaues are to be sold, especially vpon such daies as the merchants vse to

assemble; and a yoong slaue of fifteene yeeres age is sold for sixe ducates, and so are children sold also. The king of this region hath a certaine priuate palace wherein he maintaineth a great number of concubines and slaues, which are kept by eunuches: and for the guard of his owne person he keepeth a sufficient troupe of horsemen and footmen. Betweene the first gate of the palace and the inner part thereof, there is a place walled round about wherein the king himselfe decideth all his subiects controuersies: and albeit the king be in this function most diligent, and performeth all things thereto appertayning, yet hath he about him his counsellors & other officers, as namely his secretaries, treasurers, factors, and auditors. It is a woonder to see what plentie of Merchandize is dayly brought hither, and how costly and sumptuous all things be. Horses bought in Europe for ten ducates, are here sold againe for fortie and sometimes for fiftie ducates a piece. There is not any cloth of Europe so course, which will not here be sold for fower ducates an elle, and if it be anything fine they will giue fifteene ducates for an ell: and an ell of the scarlet of Venice or of Turkie-cloath is here worth thirtie ducates. A sword is here valued at three or fower crownes, and so likewise are spurs, bridles, with other like commodities, and spices also are sold at an high rate: but of al other commodities salt is most extremelie deere. The residue of this kingdome containeth nought but villages and hamlets inhabited by husbandmen and shepherds, who in winter couer their bodies with beasts skins; but in sommer they goe all naked saue their priuie members: and sometimes they weare vpon their feet certaine shooes made of camels leather. They are ignorant and rude people, and you shall scarce finde one learned man in the space of an hundred miles. They are continually burthened with grieuous exactions, so that they haue scarce any thing remaining to liue vpon.

*Rich sale for cloth.*

### *Of the kingdome of Guber.*

IT standeth eastward of the kingdome of Gago almost three hundred miles; betweene which two kingdomes lieth a vast desert being much destitute of water, for it is about fortie miles distant from Niger. The kingdome of Guber[13] is enuironed with high mountaines, and containeth many villages inhabited by shepherds, and other herdsmen. Abundance of cattell here are both great and small: but of a lower stature then the cattell in other places. Heere are also great store of artificers and linnen weauers: and heere are such shooes[14] made as the ancient Romans were woont to weare, the greatest part whereof be carried to Tombuto and Gago. Likewise heere is abundance of rice, and of certaine other graine and pulse, the like whereof I neuer saw in Italie. But I thinke it groweth in some places of Spaine. At the inundation of Niger all the fields of this region are ouerflowed, and then the inhabitants cast their seede into the water onely. In this region there is a certaine great village containing almost sixe thousand families, being inhabited with all kinde of merchants, and here was in times past the court of a certaine king, who in my time was slaine by *Izchia* the king of Tombuto, and his sonnes were gelt, and accounted among the number of the kings eunuches. Afterward he sent gouernours hither who mightily oppressed and impouerished the people that were before rich: and most part of the inhabitants were carried captiue and kept for slaues by the said *Izchia*.

*Their maner of sowing corne at the inundation of Niger.*

*The king of Guber slaine by Izchia.*

### *Of the citie and kingdome of Agadez.*

THe citie of Agadez[15] standing neere vnto Lybia was not long since walled round about by a certaine king. The inhabitants are all whiter then other Negros: and their houses are stately built after the fashion of Barbarie. The greatest part of the citizens are forren

merchants, and the residue be either artificers, or stipendaries to the king. Euery merchant hath a great many of seruants and slaues, who attend vpon them as they trauell from Cano to Borno: for in that iourney they are exceedingly molested by certaine theeues called Zingani, *Zingani.* insomuch that they dare not trauell the same way vnlesse they be well appointed: in my time they vsed crossebowes for their defence: when the said merchants be arriued at any towne, they presently employ all their slaues about some busines, to the end they may not liue in idlenes: ten or twelue they keepe to attend vpon themselues and their wares. The king of this citie hath alwaies a notable garde about him, and continueth for the most part at a certaine palace in the midst of the citie. He hath greatest regarde vnto his subiects that inhabite in the deserts and fields: for they will sometime expell their king and choose another: so that he which pleaseth the inhabitants of the desert best is sure to be king of Agadez. The residue of this kingdome lying southward is inhabited by shepherds and herdsmen, who dwell in certaine cottages made of boughes, which cottages they carrie about vpon oxen from place to place. They erect their cottages alwaies in the same field where they determine to feede their cattell; like as the Arabians also doe. Such as bring merchandize out of other places pay large custome to the king: and the king of Tombuto receiueth for yeerely tribute out of this kingdome almost an hundred and fiftie thousand ducats.[16] *Agadez tributarie to the king of Tombuto.*

## *Of the prouince of Cano.*

THe great prouince of Cano[17] stãdeth eastward of the riuer Niger almost fiue hundred miles. The greatest part of the inhabitants dwelling in villages are some of them herdsmen and others husbandmen. Heere groweth abundance of corne, of rice, and of cotton. Also here are

many deserts and wilde woodie mountaines containing many springs of water. In these woods growe plentie of wilde citrons and limons, which differ not much in taste from the best of all. In the midst of this prouince standeth a towne called by the same name, the walles and houses whereof are built for the most part of a kinde of chalke. The inhabitants are rich merchants and most ciuill people. Their king was in times past of great puissance, and had mighty troupes of horsemen at his command; but he hath since beene constrained to pay tribute vnto the kings of Zegzeg and Casena. Afterwarde *Ischia* the king of Tombuto faining friendship vnto the two foresaid kings trecherously slew them both. And then he waged warre against the king of Cano, whom after a long siege he tooke, and compelled him to marie one of his daughters, restoring him againe to his kingdome, conditionally that he should pay vnto him the third part of all his tribute: and the said king of Tombuto hath some of his courtiers perpetually residing at Cano for the receit thereof.

*The kings of Zegzeg, of Casena, and of Cano subdued by Ischia the king of Tombuto.*

## *Of the kingdome of Casena.*

CAsena bordering eastward vpon the kingdome last described, is full of mountaines, and drie fields, which yeeld notwithstanding great store of barlie and millseed. The inhabitants are extremely black, hauing great noses and blabber lips. They dwell in most forlorne and base cottages: neither shall you finde any of their villages containing aboue three hundred families. And besides their base estate they are mightily oppressed with famine: a king they had in times past whom the foresaid *Ischia* slew, since whose death they haue all beene tributarie vnto *Ischia*.[18]

*Ischia.*

### *Of the kingdome of Zegzeg.*

THe southeast part thereof bordereth vpon Cano, and it is distant from Casena almost an hundred and fiftie miles. The inhabitants are rich and haue great traffique vnto other nations. Some part of this kingdome is plaine, and the residue mountainous, but the mountaines are extremely cold, and the plains intolerably hot.[19] And because they can hardly indure the sharpnes of winter, they kindle great fires in the midst of their houses, laying the coles thereof vnder their high bedsteads, and so betaking themselues to sleepe.[20] Their fields abounding with water, are exceeding fruitful, & their houses are built like the houses of the kingdom of Casena. They had a king of their owne in times past, who being slaine by *Ischia* (as is aforesaid) they haue euer since beene subiect vnto the said *Ischia*. *Ischia.*

### *Of the region of Zanfara.*

THe region of Zanfara bordering eastward vpon Zegzeg is inhabited by most base and rusticall people. Their fields abound with rice, mill, and cotton. The inhabitants are tall in stature and extremely blacke, their visages are broad, and their dispositions most sauage and brutish. Their king also was slaine by *Ischia*, and themselues made tributarie.[21] *The king of Zanfara slaine by Ischia, and the people made tributarie.*

### *Of the towne and kingdome of Guangara.*

THis kingdome adioineth southeasterly vpon Zanfara, being very populous, and hauing a king raigning ouer it, which maintaineth a garison of seuen thousand archers, and fiue hundred horsemen, and receiueth yeerely great tributes. In all this kingdome there are none but base villages, one onely excepted, which exceedeth the rest both in largenes and faire building. The inhabitants are

very rich, and haue continuall traffique with the nations adioining. Southward thereof lieth a region greatly abounding with gold. But now they can haue no traffique with forren nations, for they are molested on both sides with most cruell enemies. For westward they are oppressed by *Ischia*, and eastward by the king of Borno. When I my selfe was in Borno, king *Abraham* hauing leuied an huge armie, determined to expell the prince of Guangara out of his kingdome, had he not beene hindred by *Homar* the prince of Gaoga, which began to assaile the kingdome of Borno. Wherefore the king of Borno being drawne home into his owne countrie, was enforced to giue ouer the conquest of Guangara. So often as the merchants of Guangara trauell unto the foresaid region abounding with gold, because the waies are so rough and difficult that their camels cannot goe vpon them, they carrie their wares vpon slaues backes; who being laden with great burthens doe vsually trauell ten or twelue miles a day. Yea some I saw that made two of those iourneies in one day: a woonder it is to see what heauie burthens these poore slaues are charged withall; for besides the merchandize they carrie victuals also for their masters, and for the soldiers that goe to garde them.[22]

*Gold.*

*Ischia.*

### *Of the kingdome of Borno.*

THe large prouince of Borno bordering westward vpon the prouince of Guangara, and from thence extending eastward fiue hundred miles, is distant from the fountaine of Niger almost an hundred and fiftie miles, the south part thereof adioining vnto the desert of Set, and the north part vnto that desert which lieth towards Barca. The situation of this kingdome is very vneuen, some part thereof being mountainous, and the residue plaine. Vpon the plaines are sundry villages inhabited by rich merchants, and abounding with corne. The king of this region and

all his followers dwell in a certaine large village.[23] The mountaines being inhabited by herdesmen and shepherds doe bring foorth mill and other graine altogether vnknowen to vs. The inhabitants in summer goe all naked saue their priuie members which they couer with a peece of leather: but al winter they are clad in skins, and haue beds of skins also. They embrace no religion at all, being neither Christians, Mahumetans, nor Iewes, nor of any other profession, but liuing after a brutish manner, and hauing wiues and children in common: and (as I vnderstood of a certaine merchant that abode a long time among them) they haue no proper names at all, but euery one is nicknamed according to his length, his fatnes, or some other qualitie.[24] They haue a most puissant prince, being lineally descended from the Libyan people called Bardoa. Horsemen he hath in a continuall readines to the number of three thousand, & an huge number of footmen; for al his subiects are so seruiceable and obedient vnto him, that whensoeuer he commandeth them, they wil arme themselues and follow him whither he pleaseth to conduct them. They paye vnto him none other tribute but the tithes of all their corne: neither hath this king any reuenues to maintaine his estate, but ouely such spoiles as he getteth from his next enimes by often inuasions and assaults.[25] He is at perpetuall enmitie with a certaine people inhabiting beyond the desert of Seu;[26] who in times past marching with an huge armie of footemen ouer the said desert, wasted a great part of the kingdome of Borno. Whereupon the king of Borno sent for the merchants of Barbary, and willed them to bring him great store of horses: for in this countrey they vse to exchange horses for slaues, and to giue fifteene, and sometime twentie slaues for one horse. And by this meanes there were abundance of horses brought: howbeit the merchants were constrained to stay for their slaues till the king returned

*The desert of Seu.*

*Fifteene or twentie slaues exchanged for one horse.*

home conquerour with a great number of captiues, and satisfied his creditors for their horses. And oftentimes it falleth out that the merchants must stay three months togither, before the king returneth from the warres, but they are all that while maintained at the kings charges. Sometimes he bringeth not home slaues enough to satisfie the merchants: and otherwhiles they are constrained to awaite there a whole yeere togither; for the king maketh inuasions but euery yeere once, & that at one set and appointed time of the yeere. Yea I my selfe met with sundrie merchants heere, who despairing of the kings paiment, bicause they had trusted him an whole yeere, determined neuer to come thither with horses againe. And yet the king seemeth to be marueilous rich; for his spurres, his bridles, platters, dishes, pots, and other vessels wherein his meate and drinke are brought to the table, are all of pure golde: yea, and the chaines of his dogs and hounds are of golde also. Howbeit this king is extreamely couetous, for he had much rather pay his debts in slaues than in gold. In this kingdome are great multitudes of Negros and of other people, the names of whom (bicause I tarried heere but one moneth) I could not well note.

### *Of the kingdome of Gaoga.*

GAoga bordering westward vpon the kingdome of Borno, and extending eastward to the confines of Nubia, adioineth southward vnto a certaine desert situate vpon a crooked and winding part of Nilus, and is enclosed northward with the frontiers of Egypt. It stretcheth from east to west in length fiue hundred miles, and as much in bredth. They haue neither humanitie not learning among them, but are most rusticall and sauage people, and especially those that inhabite the mountaines, who go all naked saue their priuities: their houses are made of boughes & rafts, and are much subiect to burning, and

they haue great abundance of cattel, whereunto they giue diligent attendance. For many yeers they remained in libertie, of which libertie they were depriued by a certaine Negro slaue of the same region. This slaue lying vpon a certaine night with his master that was a wealthie merchant, & considering that he was not far from his natiue countrey, slue his saide master, possessed his goods, and returned home: where hauing bought a certaine number of horses, he began to inuade the people next adioning, and obtained for the most part the victorie: for he conducted a troupe of most valiant & warlike horsmen against his enimies that were but slẽderly appointed. And by this means he tooke great numbers of captiues, whom he exchanged for horses that were brought out of Egypt: insomuch that at length (the number of his souldiers increasing) he was accounted of by all men as soueraigne K. of Gaoga. After him succeeded his son, being no whit inferiour in valour & high courage vnto his father; who reigned for the space of fortie yeeres. Next him succeeded his brother *Moses*, & after *Moses* his nephew *Homara*, who beareth rule at this present. This *Homara* hath greatly enlarged his dominions, and hath entred league with the Soldan of Cairo, by whom he is often presented with magnificent gifts, which he most bountifully requiteth: also diuers merchants of Egypt, and diuers inhabitants of Cairo present most pretious and rare things vnto him, and highly commend his surpassing liberalitie. This prince greatly honoureth all learned men, and especially such as are of the linage of Mahumet. I my selfe being in his court, a certaine noble man of Damiata brought him very rich and roiall gifts, as namely, a gallant horse, a Turkish sworde, and a kingly robe, with certaine other particulars that cost about an hundred and fiftie ducates at Cairo: in recompence whereof the king gaue him fiue slaues, fiue camels, fiue hundred ducates of that region, and an hundred elephants teeth of woonderfull bignes.[27]

*A Negro-slaue who hauing slaine his Lord grew to great might and authoritie.*

## *Of the kingdome of Nubia.*

NVbia bordering westward vpon the kingdome last described, and stretching from thence vnto Nilus, is enclosed on the southside with the desert of Goran,[28] and on the north side with the confines of Egypt. Howbeit they cannot passe by water from this kingdome into Egypt: for the riuer of Nilus is in some places no deeper then a man may wade ouer on foote. The principall towne of this kingdome called Dangala is exceeding populous,[29] and containeth to the number of ten thousand families. The wals of their houses consist of a kinde of chalke,[30] and the roofes are couered with strawe. The townesmen are exceeding rich and ciuill people, and haue great traffike with the merchants of Cairo & of Egypt: in other parts of this kingdome you shall finde none but villages and hamlets situate vpon the riuer of Nilus, all the inhabitants whereof are husbandmen. The kingdome of Nubia is most rich in corne and sugar, which notwithstanding they knowe not how to vse. Also in the citie of Dangala there is great plentie of ciuet and Sandall-wood.[31] This region aboundeth with Iuory likewise, bicause heere are so many elephants taken. Heere is also a most strong and deadly poison, one graine whereof being diuided amongst ten persons, will kill them all within lesse then a quarter of an hower: but if one man taketh a graine, he dieth thereof out of hand. An ounce of this poison is solde for an hundred ducates; neither may it be solde to any but to forraine merchants, & whosoeuer buieth it is bound by an oath not to vse it in the kingdome of Nubia. All such as buy of this poison are constrained to pay as much vnto the king, as to the merchant: but if any man selleth poison without the princes knowledge, he is presently put to death.[32] The king of Nubia maintaineth continuall warre, partly against the people of Goran (who being descended of the people

*The riuer of Nilus not nauigable betweene Nubia and Egypt.*

*The rich commodities of Nubia.*

*Most strong poyson.*

called Zingani, inhabite the deserts, and speake a kinde of language that no other nation vnderstandeth) and partly against certaine other people also dwelling vpon the desert which lieth eastward of Nilus, and stretcheth towards the red sea, being not farre from the borders of Suachen. Their language (as I take it) is mixt, for it hath great affinity with the Chaldean toong, with the language of Suachen, and with the language of Ethiopia the higher, where *Prete Gianni* is said to beare rule: the people themselues are called Bugiha, and are most base and miserable, and liue onely vpon milke, camels-flesh and the flesh of such beasts as are taken in those deserts. Sometimes they receiue tribute of the gouernour of Suachen, and sometimes of the gouernours of Dangala. They had once a rich towne situate vpon the red sea called Zibid, whereunto belonged a commodious hauen, being opposite vnto the hauen of Zidem, which is fortie miles distant from Mecca. But an hundred yeeres since it was destroied by the Soldan, bicause the inhabitants receiued certaine wares which should haue beene carried to Mecca, and at the same time the famous port of Zibid was destroied, from whence notwithstanding was gathered a great yeerely tribute. The inhabitants being chased from thence fledde vnto Dangala and Suachin, and at length being ouercome in battaile by the gouernour of Suachin, there were in one day slaine of them aboue fower thousand, and a thousand were carried captiue vnto Suachin, who were massacred by the women and children of the citie.[38] And thus much (friendly reader) as concerning the lande of Negros: the fifteene kingdomes whereof agreeing much in rites and customes, are subiect vnto fower princes onely. Let vs now proceed vnto the description of Egypt.

*Zingani.*

*Prete Gianni.*

*Bugiha.*

*Here endeth the seuenth booke.*

# NOTES TO BOOK VII.

(1) Leo takes this account avowedly from Mas'ûdi's *Murúj uz-Zahab* ("Meadows of Gold"), A.D. 943-44, and El-Bekri's *Kitab ul-mesâlek-wa'l-memâlek* ("The Book of Roads and Realms"), A.D. 1067. But he is quite wrong in affirming that nothing was known of Negroland until the Barbary traders crossed the desert (A.D. 994); for Ibn Haukal, who began his travels in A.D. 943, gives the distances between Segelmessa and Audaghort, Ghama, Kuku, Kugha, and "Ulil", where there were salt mines (*MS.* in Leyden University Library, p. 34; Walckenaer, *Recherches Géog. sur l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, p. 13. It is not given in Ouseley's imperfect translation of Ibn Haukal—*Oriental Geography*, 1800—"A certaine Mahumetan which came into Barbarie," etc., is in the Italian version "e la causa fu questa, che allore Luntuna e tutto il popolo di Libia per causa d'un predicatore si fece maumettano, e venne ad alitare nella Barberia, e cominciò a practicare, e aver cognizione di detti paesi" (Reprint, 1837). That is, the Land of the Negroes was thus discovered. The family of Luntuna and all the people of Lybia were through a (Mohammedan) preacher converted to Mohammedanism. He then came to live in Barbary, and strove to inform himself and did acquire a knowledge of that country (Negroland).

(2) The five nations of Libya here referred to seem to be the Lemtuna, Lemta, Jedala, Tuâreg, and Zenega, collectively known from wearing the *litham* or face covering (still seen among the Tuâreg) as the "Moleththemin", or Litham-bearers. The propaganda of Islam among the desert races was virtually begun by Yahia Ibn Ibrahim, a Tuâreg chief, and founder of the Almohade dynasty. He sought the help of Wahâj Ibn Zelu, a disciple of Abu Amran, a Marabout of Kairwan, though originally from Fez (A.D. 1035-47). Wahâj Ibn Zelu resided at Malkus, near Marakesh; but not caring to go on the mission himself, he sent his disciple, Abd Allah Ibn Yazin of Segelmessa, who established a "zuia" on an island near the mouth of the Senegal, where in time his followers became known as El-Marâbitîn, familiar to us under the corrupt form of Almoravides. They soon became very powerful, and under the leadership of Yahia Ibn Omar subdued the neighbouring tribes. They next menaced Morocco; and in A.D. 1053 (A.H. 445), Segelmessa was captured and occupied. Abu Bekr, who succeeded his brother, Yahia Ibn Omar, after making

himself master of the Wad-Nun country, Sus, Tarudant, and Aghmat, penetrated in A.D. 1058 (A.H. 450) to Tedla, and destroyed the Ifrenide princes and the Berghuata who inhabited the littoral of Anfa and Temesna. Having been struck with paralysis in the desert, Abu Bekr handed over his authority to his cousin Yussuf Ibn Tashfin, who thereupon marched against the Sudan races, ninety days' journey south of the Almoravide countries.—Godard, *Le Maroc*, p. 310.

(3) Hajj Mohammed ben Abu Bakr Askia ("Abuacre Izchia) was actually King of Songhai ("Sungai"). His conquests were just beginning when Leo visited Negroland, so that our traveller must have obtained most of his information regarding Askia's subsequent proceedings from Arab merchants who disliked the usurper, owing to the heavy taxes he levied for the support of his great armed force —the duties on merchandise interfering seriously with trade. He founded the homonymous dynasty of the Askia by rising against Sonni Abu Bakr Dau, son of Sonni Ali ("Sonni Heli" of Leo), a powerful monarch, who (A.H. 894, A.D. 1488) wrested Timbuktu from the Tuâreg, who had captured it from Meli.

Askia—whom Barth justly characterises as perhaps the greatest sovereign that ever ruled over Negroland—was a native of the island of Neni, a little below Zinder on the Niger, and hence (unlike Sonni Ali, who was of Arab or, more probably, Berber origin) a good specimen of what the pure-blooded negro is capable of becoming. Popular with the rigid Mohammedans—instead of being odious in their eyes as Sonni Ali was—Askia, at the very period that Almeida and Albuquerque were doubling the Cape of Storms and founding the Portuguese Indian Empire, extended his conquests from Hausa to near the Atlantic, and from Mossi as far as Tuat, everywhere ruling with equity and vigour.

Askia, or Sikkia, was assumed by him as his royal title (A.D. 1492, A.H. 898). After a reign of thirty-six and a half years, he was compelled to abdicate by his rebellious son, Askia Musa, and died in dishonour A.D. 1537 (A.H. 944).—Barth, *Travels*, vol. iv, pp. 414, 596-605.

This chapter is not very fully translated. Thus the "former king", to whom Abu Bekr was "Capitano", is not given as "Soni Heli, King of Tumbutto and Gago of the family of the Libyan tribes"; nor is it correct for Leo to say that Abu Bekr "dopo la morte del detto si rebellò contra i figliuoli, i quelli fece morire e tornò il dominio nei Negri", since Sonni Abu Bekr Dau fled to Abar (Adar), where he died. Nor does he correctly translate how Askia by his munificence on the pilgrimage to Mecca "spese tutti i suoi tesori, e rimase debitore di centocinquanta milia ducati" (spent all his wealth and became in debt 150,000 ducats or mithkals). Nothing is said about getting in

debt to "other princes", which, all things considered, would have been in the highest degree improbable. But, according to the chronicle of Ahmed Baba of Timbuktu—of which Barth was allowed to take hurried extracts—Askia went to Mecca with 1,500 armed men, and 300,000 mithkals to defray his expenses. His official investiture as Khalifa in Songhai was performed in the Holy City by the Shereef El-Abbâsi. He also founded a charitable institution in Mecca for the people Tekrur; so that a sovereign of such lavish generosity might well have exceeded his estimated expenditure.

(4) Walata. When Ibn Batuta visited it in A.D. 1352-53 (A.H. 753, 754) Walata was an important commercial centre; but soon after the conquests of Sonni Ali, as Leo mentions, its trade went over to Timbuktu and Gago.

Walata is the Arab and Tuâreg name, while Biru is the one applied to it by the Negro Azer, a section of the Aswanek, who are the original inhabitants of the place. It is at present a town of well-built clay houses, each with a rough coat of plaster. The region close to the district of El-Hodh at the foot of the Dahr Walata hills, and in a well-wooded valley, is considered very unhealthy. But there is little business, and in Barth's day it was described as a "seat of poverty and misery": an unflattering characterisation which does not agree with the statements of Ca da Mosto in 1513, or of Alioun Sal in 1860. It is inhabited by a mixed race of whites and blacks—Berbers, Arabs and Azer—who speak the Azeriyya idiom, and bear an indifferent reputation.

"Mil seed", or millet, is perhaps *Pennisetum typhoideum*, not maize, as Pory adds, with superfluous erudition.

(5) Jinni or Jenni, founded in A.D. 1033-34 (A.H. 435), according to the documents from which Barth (vol. iv, p. 582) compiled his "Chronological Table of Songhay and the neighbouring Kingdoms". It soon became wealthy, owing to the trade in salt from Teghâza and in gold from Bitu (Leo's Bito, the Bede of Denham and Clapperton, according to Cooley, *Negroland of the Arabs*, p. 129). About A.D. 1203-4 (A.H. 600) most of the inhabitants, including the king, embraced Islam. Soon afterwards it became subject to Mari Jatah, King of Meli, on the Upper Niger; and as the principal market of the Fulahs, Joloff, Zenagha, Serracolits, and the inhabitants of Western Tekrur and the Udaya, attained the zenith of its prosperity (De Barros, *Asia*, ed. Lisboa 1778, lib. i, chap. 8, p. 220). In A.H. 873 (A.D. 1468-9) it was conquered after great slaughter by Sonni Ali. At that time it enjoyed a prosperous trade in native cloth (De Barros, *lib. cit.*, p. 257; Kunstmann, *Abhandl. der K. Baier. Akad.* bd. iii, vol. viii).

Leo is our only authority for the fact that Askia kept the King of

Jinni prisoner in his own capital. A more correct translation of the passage is, however, that Askia, having invaded the country and taken prisoner the last King of the Libyan (Berber) race who had become tributary to Sonni Ali, held him captive in Gogo till his death, and governed the kingdom by a deputy ("Con un suo luogotenante"). There is nothing in the original about a "certaine nobleman".

Leo derived Guinea from Jinni, and most likely correctly. But there are rival etymologies—Ginahoa, the first negro country visited by the Portuguese, Ghana, Jenné, a coast town, once of note, etc.—among which it is idle to choose. Caillié was the first European—at least, in later times—to enter Jinni, though Mungo Park saw it on his last journey. "Tutte le case di costoro sono fatte a modo di capanne, ma investite di creta, e coperte di paglia"—is not quite correctly translated. It should be: The houses are built in the shape of hamlets, the walls of clay (which Leo usually renders "creta"), and thatched with straw. In reality, they are built of sun-dried bricks, and lime is unknown, though Temporal rather freely translates the passage—"blanches de craye". When Caillié visited it the houses were mostly of a better quality and the town surrounded by a low, badly-constructed wall. But the inhabitants had evidently improved by their intercourse with the Moors and other foreign merchants.

(6) Meli, Melli, Melle, Malli, or Mally was a prosperous kingdom when Ibn Batuta visited its capital. He describes it as the residence of the "king of the black men—Mansa Sleiman", "Mansa" signifying Sultan. Many merchants seem to have visited it, and cowries (*Cypræa moneta*) were, as is still the custom in that region, used in place of money (Ibn Batuta, ed. Defrémery et Sanguinetti, t. iv, pp. 397 *et seq.*, 435-439). But before that date the kingdom had played a great part in the Sudan. In about A.D. 1235-60 Mari Jatah, King of Meli, conquered the Susu, who at that time were masters of Ghamata. Mansa Kunkur Musa, the greatest of the Meli monarchs, who, according to Ahmed Baba of Timbuktu (Rohlfs, *Zeitsch. Leipzig Oriental Soc.*, vol. ix, p. 530) possessed "an aggressive strength without measure or limit", extended his dominions by absorbing Baghena (the remnants of the disrupted kingdoms of Baghena, Zagha, Timbuktu and Songhai, with its capital Gogo. His wealth was so great that he made the Mekka pilgrimage with a following like an army—his route being by way of Walata and Tuat and Gogo (or Gagho). Mansa Sleiman, who was Sultan at the time of Ibn Batuta's visit (A.D. 1352-53), in A.D. 1336 again occupied Timbuktu, which had apparently been left to itself for some years. About A.D. 1433 the Meli empire began to decline, its power being divided among a number of semi-independent governors, with the result that

the Tuâreg spread desolation on every side. Yet in 1454 Alvise di Ca da Mosto (*Prima Navigazione*, c. 13) could still describe it as the most powerful of the Negroland kingdoms, and the most important for traffic in gold and slaves. In 1501, Askia made Meli part of his empire —a fact noted by Leo. Meli was perhaps the town called Zillen or Zalna by Ahmed Baba, the inhabitants of which were sold into slavery when Askia took and added this and other important towns to the Songhai empire, already extending 1,500 miles from east to west and 1,000 miles from north to south. It was Leo who first made the word Songhai (Sungai) familiar to Europe, De Barros also using it. After this Meli waned rapidly, its sovereign bearing the title of Ferengh instead of Mansa. But its final extinction as an empire was due to a civil war between the sons of Ferengh Mahmud, about the middle of the seventeenth century, in which all the most powerful tribes in that part of Africa engaged. The result was that the capital of Meli was destroyed, and the country divided up among the various participants in this suicidal struggle. The Baghena lordship was given by Mulai Ismail of Morocco, under a sort of feudal tenure, to the chief of the Mebarek tribe.

(7) Tin-Buktu, "the well of Buktu", as it has been fancifully translated: Timbuctoo, to use the familiar spelling: Timbuktu in more accurate form—once a city of mystery and fable, is now so familiar that it is no longer necessary to speculate regarding the exact meaning of Leo's statements, or what modicum of truth they possess. In the editor's *Africa* (vol. i, pp. 26-312; vol. iv, p. 298) notes may be found on the numerous vacillations of opinion regarding this country, and journeys in search of it; and in Barth's *Travels* (vol. iv, pp. 403, 480, etc.) and Lenz's *Timbuktu* (vol. ii, p. 114 *et seq.*), the fullest information is embodied on the history and condition of the city prior to the French occupying it on the 10th January, 1893. Its subsequent fate has been chronicled by MM. Hubert et Delafosse in *Tombouctou, son histoire, sa conquête* (1894) and by Zoudevan in *Tijdschrift Netherlandsch Aardrijk-Genootschap*, vol. ix (1892), pp. 375-400. In the *Comptes Rendus* of the Paris Geographical Society, 1894, Nos. 18, 19, and 1895, p. 62, the information collected by the French military officers is embodied. I may, however, supplement Leo's description by a few explanatory remarks. Timbuktu means in the Songhai language a hollow, and perhaps got the name from being built in the cavity of the sand hills. It was founded towards the end of the fifth century of the Hegeira (A.D. 1087-8) by the Tuâreg, who have since used its site as an occasional camping-place.—Barth, *Travels*, vol. iv, p. 584.

(8) Since Leo's day the influence of the Moors has been most marked; for, with the exception of some conical mat huts, the houses

are now well built of clay ("chalke"=creta) around courtyards, and with terraces, not thatched, as described by the viator of four centuries ago. Pory, copying Florianus, has not quite correctly translated this passage—"Le cui case sono capanne fatte di pali, coperte di creta [in the Latin *Cujus domus omnes in tuguriola cretaceæ*], coi cortivi di paglia." It should be: The houses here are built like cabins, the walls are hurdles plastered over with clay, and the houses covered with reeds (straw). Moore, by his ingenuity in mistranslating "capanne" (which he mistakes for "campane"), as "bells", still further confuses Leo's meaning; though, no doubt, bell-shaped or conical is very applicable to the usual Nigritic style of architecture.

The statement that almost half of the city was, during Leo's second visit, burnt down in the course of five hours, and that fires were one of the perils to which it was peculiarly subject, rather confirms the description of the inflammable character of the buildings in 1500.—See M. Jomard's remarks in Caillié's *Travels* (English ed.), vol. ii, p. 343.

The Great Mosque and the palace were built by Mansa Musa, King of Meli, as a half-legible inscription over the principal gate attests. The architect—"un excellente maestro di Granata"—was Ishak, commonly called Es-Saheli, as if he were a native of Morocco, not of Granada. But the Sankoré mosque is generally regarded as the oldest in the city.

(9) This description of the magnificence of Askia is no doubt quite accurate. For his plunder must have been accumulating fast, while his military forces and the merchants whom they attracted to Timbuktu must have given employment to a great many people during the moderately enlightened rule of Askia's brother, Omar, as "Tumbutukoy" (Viceroy of Timbuktu), in spite of Sonni Ali having sacked it thirty years previously (A.D. 1468-9, A.H. 873). Timbuktu has decayed very greatly during the last four centuries: for at the date of Lenz's visit—1880—the entire population did not exceed 20,000, with a few traders and their followers during the caravan season; and until the French occupation the place still further approached insignificance by reason of the anarchy and pillage of the Tuâreg, and their rivals, the Fulahs, added to the competition of the European trading ports on the Niger. Askia did not, as Leo seemed to have imagined, reside habitually in Timbuktu, Gogo being his capital. But unless he derived his information regarding Askia's regal state from second-hand information, the king must at the period of one of Leo's two visits (probably within an interval of a few months) have been in the city or its vicinity, as indeed was his custom at that period of his life. Kabara was also one of his favourite residences, but Gogo was most frequently Askia's home.

(10) "Books and firearms" were the articles which Barth found most in demand, and to this day the Mogador traders in fitting out caravans for Timbuktu always include MSS. of the *Koran* and other religious works among their regular merchandise. There are several good libraries in the place, containing many valuable MSS., with the contents of which Europe is now likely to become better acquainted. The exclusion of Jews from Timbuktu continued until the year 1858, when the late Rabbi Mordokhaï Abi Serour, of Akka, succeeded in gaining permission to reside and trade in the city; and since that date several of his relatives and co-religionists have established themselves there, and it is understood that many more—now that anarchy is at an end—are likely to become permanent citizens.—Beaumier, *Bull. de la Soc. Géog. Paris*, April-May, 1870.

The Cowrie currency mentioned by Leo is still in use over a wide extent of the Niger country. To show the approximate value of the shells—Barth bought in Timbuktu, forty years ago, a piece of good bleached calico—"shigg'e", or "sehem hindi" as it is still called, as it was in Silla more than eight centuries ago (El-Bekri, ed. Slane, 1857, p. 173)—for 13,500 shells, and three pieces of unbleached calico for 8,000 each. Three thousand shells were accounted equal to one Spanish dollar—a much higher rate of exchange than prevailed in Leo's time.

(11) Kabara, the port of Timbuktu, situated on a *cul de sac* of the Niger, five miles from the city—not "twelve", as in the rather obscure statement of Leo, not improved by his translators—the desert space between the two being known as Ur-immandes ("He—God—does not hear") from the fact that people are murdered here without their cries reaching anyone able to succour them. Ibn Batuta, on his visit to "Tomboktu" in 1352-53, sailed on the river from Kabara to Gogo. At one time Kabara was even more important than Timbuktu, but it is nowadays a somnolent village of some 2,000 people, living in dome-shaped houses, and in no way distinguished either by wealth or intelligence. The sanitary condition of the place has not improved since Leo's visit.—See Caron, *De Saint Louis au port de Tombouktou* (1891), pp. 281, *et seq.*; Deportes, *Extrême Sud de l'Algérie, Le Gourara, Le Touat, In-Sulah, Le Tidikelt, Le Pays de Touaregs, l'Adrar, Tin Bouctou, Agades* (1890), pp. 380-413. Askia had many brothers, whom he entrusted with great power, and who requited him better than did his mutinous and almost patricidal sons. Except for Leo's reference to Abu Bakr, surnamed Pergama, they are not known in history.—See, also, for some now obsolete criticisms on certain passages in Leo, Cock, in Adams's apocryphal *Narrative*, p. 188.

(12) Gogo, Gago, Gagho, Gawo, or Gao, the capital of the Songhai empire, and during Askia's reign a very important place. Makhled Ibn Kaidâd (better known as Abu Yezid, the Nekarite), who figured in the revolutions of Northern Africa, was born here. His father, however, came from Tozer for trading purposes, which shows the antiquity of commercial relations between Barbary and the Sudan (Ibn Khaldoun, *Hist. des Berbères*, ed. Slane, t. iii, p. 201). Wargla, by which he travelled, and where his son took refuge in A.H. 325 (A.D. 957), Barth regards as the Bakalitis of Ptolemy (lib. iv, c. vii, p. 305, ed. Wilberg), and therefore even more ancient than is supposed. In El-Bekri's time "Gogo" consisted of two towns, one the residence of the King and the Mohammedans, the other the Pagan quarter, though already Islam had made such progress that no one but a Mohammedan could rule. Gogo was at that time the chief market for salt, which was brought from the Berber town of Tautek, distant fifteen days' travel. About a century later (A.D. 1153) Edrisi tells us that the people of Gogo dominated over the surrounding country, and were rich in horses and camels. The great men were clothed handsomely, and wore the "litham", or face covering; while humbler folk dressed in leathern shirts or upper garments. So well advanced were commercial relations between Negroland and North Africa (which Leo affirms began about the close of the tenth century after Christ), that already Gogo did a brisk trade with Augila. About A.D. 1770, the town and principality hitherto ruled by the "Ruma" or descendants of the soldiers left as garrison by Mulaï Ahmed Abu-l-Abbâs el-Mansur of Morocco in 1590, was taken by the Awleimmeden Tuâreg. This spot, from whence the powerful princes whose capital it was, extended their conquests far and near (and at a time when Timbuktu was—what indeed it always has been—a mere trading provincial town), is nowadays a poor place, with few signs of having seen better days. The great mosque in which the victorious Askia is buried has been allowed to fall into ruins, and the private dwellings are little better than hovels. The town seems (as Leo states) never to have been surrounded by a wall, and to have had in its most flourishing days a circumference of something like six miles. But nothing now remains of the palace, which so little impressed Jaudar, the Moorish general, that he wrote to Mulaï Ahmed that the house of the Sheikh el-Haram in Morocco was much finer than the palace of the Askia. Indeed, the architecture of Gogo seems to have been on a par with that of the rest of the Niger cities, until they aped that of Barbary, introduced perhaps after Jaudar's conquests in A.D. 1588-9 (see *Introduction*). As the valiant eunuch of Mulaï Ahmed wished to accept Ishak Askia's ransom of 1,000 slaves and 100,000 mithkal of gold—a piece of complaisance which cost Jaudar his command—it is just possible that he minimised the modest splendour of Gogo. Leo reached it by sailing

from Kabara, so that it is absurd to argue that he had never been on the Niger, and was ignorant of its course, simply because he gave its *general* direction to the Atlantic as westerly (Cock, in Adams's *Narrative*, p. 191). Rennell's criticism on Leo placing Ghana to the westward of Timbuktu is based on the supposition that Ghana and Kano were identical.—Thomson, *Mungo Park*, p. 193.

(13) Gober, the most northern of the Haussa states, the home of the Imâm Othman ben-Fodio (Fodiye), by whom the great Fulah revolution, in progress about the time of Mungo Park's explorations, was brought about. The Goberawa were at one time masters of Aïr, or Arben. Barth doubts Leo's statements about Askia's later proceedings, being inclined to think that the Moorish traveller had confounded Askia with Kanta, the ruler of Leka, in the province of Kebbi.

(14) For shoes read sandals (calzolaj)? Gober was at one time celebrated, as are still some of the Niger towns, for its leather wares.

(15) Agades, on the right bank of the Wad Tilua, is still a prosperous town, the citizens of which possess, as in Leo's day, numbers of male slaves employed on their trading expeditions in the Sudan. Amid many ruins there are still plenty of substantial houses betokening wealth and even culture of the African order. But the palace of the Sultan—"un bel palazzo in mezzo della città"—where he housed his court and a large garrison, seems to have disappeared, since the huge ruin in the southern quarter can scarcely be identified with this building. Of the seventy mosques which are said to have formerly existed, only ten are still in use. Leather working, mat-plaiting, and blacksmithing are carried on here. The iron-work, though barbarous in design, is especially interesting; and in most parts of Africa, as in mediæval Europe, the smith is an important personage.

(16) Agades was at one time regarded as identical with Audaghost, or Aoudarast of Edrisi and of El-Bekri, merely owing to the similarity of the names. But Mr. Cooley (*Negroland of the Arabs*, p. 6 *et seq.*) showed this to be erroneous, with which judgment most late commentators agree (De Slane, *Rev. Africaine*, t. i, p. 289), though whether Auderas (Wateran of Rennell), between Aïr and Agades, is a safer guess, is not worth discussing (Renou, *Expl. Scientifique de l'Algérie*, t. ii, p. 327). But Agades, or Egedesh, is a pure Berber word, of frequent occurrence, particularly among the Awleimmeden, and in no way connected with Audaghost. According to Barth (*Travels*, vol. i, p. 458), the name means "family", and

is well chosen for a town consisting of mixed elements. Audaghost was, moreover, in existence at the time that El-Bekri wrote—namely, in the eleventh century. When Agades was built is not certain; for Marmol's statement that it was founded 160 years before the time when he wrote (that is to say, 1460) must be received with some doubt. Otherwise, Leo would have been certain to have noted the fact of a place which he describes with some minuteness being not older than fifty or sixty years when he visited it. But all that he says is—"Agadez è una città murata, edificata dai moderni rè"—"by a certain King" being simply a translation of "a quodam Rege", one of the many liberties with the text which Florianus took. Yet in A.D. 1515 the great Askia captured this town, and drove out of it the few Berber tribes who had settled here, establishing in their place most likely a colony of his own people; which explains why, so far from its original centre, a dialect of Songhai language, mixed with Berber elements, is spoken in Agades. In Leo's day the place had not yet undergone the change. But even then he seemed to regard it as a negro town:—"The inhabitants are all whiter than other Negroes" (E questa città è quasi vicina alla città dei Bianchi più che alcun'altra de' Negri). Yet though he does not mention Askia's expedition against Agades, he takes note of those against Katsena and Kano, which took place two years earlier, and states that the King of Agades paid a tribute of 150,000 ducats to "the King of Tombuto" (Gogo). Indeed, considering that Leo accompanied his uncle on an official visit to Askia, he seems to have come very little in contact with the great conqueror, if at all, and to have received his information about him largely at second hand; and though the details regarding Askia's proceedings are generally correct, he is at times strangely confused. Thus he mentions that Askia having reigned fifteen (quindici) years, and made peace with his neighbours, went on the Mecca pilgrimage. Yet this event is not correctly stated; for Askia ascended the throne on the 14th Jumad, 898 (A.D. 1493), and went on the Mecca pilgrimage in Safer, 902 (A.D. 1495), returning to Gogo in A.H. 903 (August, 1497-8)—consequently in the fifth (Mohammedan) year of his reign. Yet Leo obtained information, perhaps from later writers, after his return to Barbary, of Askia's expedition against Katsena and the adjoining provinces, which was made in A.H. 919 (A.D. 1513). Consequently, Barth was induced to believe that Leo, in describing Agades, speaks of its condition prior to Askia's expedition of A.D. 1515, a date at which Leo must have completed his Niger-land travels (see *Introduction*). But as Leo gives us no exact dates it is often impossible to say how far he is speaking as an eye-witness, or how far from more or less trustworthy information picked up among the trader caravans. Leo also describes the king as a Berber; and certainly the unruly, restless character of the Berber population so unlike the easily-governed Negro, is markedly characteristic of the

Tuâreg population of Agades to this day. The tradition of the people is that the city was originally peopled from a small town in the Irnallen Valley, of which some vestiges, with two or three date trees, remnants of a large plantation, remain to the present day (Barth, *Travels*, vol. iv, pp. 462-68). Founded evidently as a trading centre more convenient than Tegidda (famous in Ibn Batuta, and Ibn Khaldoun's days for copper, and now for reddish-coloured salt), it speedily attained great prosperity. It had its own standard weight of gold—the mithkal—which even yet regulates the circulating medium. Thus while the Timbuktu mithkal is in regard to the Spanish dollar as 1½ to 1, the Agades one is only as ⅔ to 1. For wholesale business a greater weight was used. This was the "karruiye", of which the smaller contained 33 mithkals and a third, equal to 2 rottls and a 117th, while the larger karruive contained 100 mithkals, equal to 6 rottls and a half. The Sultan is chosen by a compact among the tribes from among a Sherifian family, and lives, not in Agades, but in a Gobes town: this ruler being really the chief of the Tuâreg tribes, who are almost constantly at war with each other. Now, as in Leo's time, the Sultan's chief source of revenue is the tax of ten mithkals (four Spanish dollars) on all merchandise—food excepted—entering the town. ("Riceve il re gran rendita delle gabelle che pagano le robe de' forestieri, e anco di quello che nasce nel regno".) At present the population numbers seven or eight thousand, many of whom are always absent on trading expeditions, though the commerce is now inconsiderable compared with what it was in former times. Money, or its representative, either in cowries or cloth, is rarely in the market, the standard being millet (*Pennisetum typhoïdeum*) durra, or sorghum (*Holcus sorghum*), (List of prices in Barth, *lib. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 479). Grain is the main object of speculation by the Tuates, who still form the most numerous section of the foreign traders, though not indulging in large transactions; and then in the greater number of cases they are merely the commission agents or middlemen of the Ghadames capitalist. Hence, while well-dressed epicures from Tuat are frequent, wealthy ones are rare. The word "Zingané" is translated by Temporal as Gypsies (*Romiens ou Egyptiens*), and no doubt correctly. The shepherds' huts are built to-day in the very manner described by Leo.—Walckenaer, *Recherches Géographiques*, etc., pp. 316-320, 449; Richardson, *Narrative of a Mission to Central Africa*, vol. ii, p. 57 (mainly a summary of Barth's account).

(17) Kano, not Ghana or Ghanata of El-Bekri, as at one time generally supposed, the question having been decided by Cooley (*Negroland of the Arabs*, p. 5, *et seq.*). Kano is still a large busy town, much frequented by traders, especially since the occupation of Katsena

by the Fulahs in 1807. Barth gives a view of the place in 1850 (*Travels*, vol. ii, p. 110); but considers that in his account of its history Leo confounds Kano with Katsena. In the second half of the sixteenth century the fortress of Dala, which withstood the Bornuese attack, must have been the only part of Kano in existence. According to Clapperton and Banks's estimate, the modern town may contain from 30,000 to 40,000 inhabitants of a very mixed character; though during the influx of caravans between January and April the number sometimes rises to 60,000. Cotton cloth of native weaving is the chief article of sale, though artificers of various fabrics flourish, and in the bazaar Manchester and Sheffield wares are quite common.

The province itself (in the original Leo calls it "una gran provincia") comprises a fertile, well-populated district, the inhabitants being now alternately subject to Bornu and Sokoto, though the governor is practically independent.

The conquest of Zeze, Katsena (Casena) and Kano by Askia is mentioned in such set terms by Leo that it is difficult to accept Barth's doubt whether the Moorish historian did not confound Askia with Kanta, the ruler of Kebbi. Leo's information must have been second-hand—obtained in an exaggerated form from traders; for Ahmed Baba makes no allusion to any expedition of Askia's three years after his first. Indeed, "such an expedition is", Barth affirms, "wholly impossible, on account of the hostility of Kanta, who made himself independent of Songhay, the second year after the expedition to Katsena (A.D. 1514), and there was no road from Songhay to Kano except through Kebbi". "Chalk" (creta) should here, as elsewhere, be translated "clay". These Nigritic kings seem to have had at an early date communication with the Portuguese, who about A.D. 1471 sent an embassy to Sonni Ali, asking permission to establish a factory at Wadan (Hoden), which, however, being in too barren a spot and too far from the coast, was soon abandoned. Again, when the Moors took Gogo, they found in that town "a piece of artillery bearing the Portuguese arms, a small image of Our Lady, and a metal crucifix".—Jorge de Mendoza Da Franca, among *Papeles Curiosos*, in the Egerton Collection, Brit. Mus. Additional MS6., No. 10,262, p. 235.

(18) Katsena, or Kashna, Kachene, and Cachenah of the older writers, one of the Hansa regions, or, as Leo—who evidently did not know that name—says a kingdom, like Zaria and Kano, speaking the Gober language. But, in affirming that Wangara (Guangara) used the same tongue, he falls into an error; as he does in crediting Meli with the Songhai: he, as a foreigner, was addressed in it by traders and "educated" people. In Leo's day there does not seem to have been any capital in the province of Katsena: nothing but "piccoli casali fatti a guisa di capanne, e tutti tristi". Yet there are

lists of Katsena kings dating back to A.H. 600, though perhaps Katsena did not receive the name of the province till it became important about the middle of the sixteenth century of the Christian era, when a number of poor villages coalesced into one town. Katsena—capital and province—is now much decayed. The town fell on evil times with the rest of Kano, while the province—one of the richest portions of Negroland—is now much curtailed since the bulk of it passed into the Fulahs' hands.

(19) The province of Zegzeg under the Governor of Kano.

(20) This custom, which seemed to have tried the faith of some of Leo's readers, is, on the contrary, quite accurately related. In Senegal (just as in Western America and other regions), in order to keep off the mosquitoes, the traveller is compelled to sleep under the lee of a "green smoke" in order to obtain some respite from these plagues, or to fill the house with pungent fumes. The late Mr. Joseph Thomson remarks on this passage as an instance of Leo's accuracy. "Even when he seems to draw most upon credulity, he is generally quite accurate: as, for instance, when he describes the people of one district kindling fires at night under their bedsteads to keep themselves warm. To the truth of this statement the writer of these lines can testify from personal observation; the precaution being adopted, however, not to ward off external cold, but that of ague—a disease to which many places on the Niger are subject at certain times of the year."—Thomson, *Mungo Park and the Niger*, p. 17.

(21) Zanfara, with its capital Zyrmi, is of more importance now than in Leo's day. It forms part of the Fulah empire, and is better governed than when Clapperton visited it, and found the place a mere asylum for vagabonds from neighbouring states. The province is very ancient, being mentioned by Edrisi when it was much more extensive than at present, half of it being under the Fulah yoke, while the rest was struggled for by the Goberawa and other turbulent neighbours.

(22) Wangara, or Ungara. The Wangarawa or Wakore are a numerous and scattered people, to whom belong the Susa and Eastern Mandingoes, so called. These Wangarawa are found busily engaged in trade all over the Niger country and in Katsena. Barth notes that all the more considerable merchants belong to this nationality.

When Leo states that Abraham, King of Bornu, meditated driving the Wangarawa out of his kingdom, his memory perhaps deceived him. Most probably he refers to Ali ben-Dunama, surnamed for his conquests El-Ghâzi, but better known as Mai Ali Ghazideni (A.H. 877-909, A.D. 1472-1504). It may have been in this King's reign that Leo

visited Bornu, though his son and successor Idris reigned from A.H. 910-932 (A.D. 1504-1526). Barth also learnt from various sources that it was Ali Ghazideni who had to abandon the conquest of Wangara to repulse an invasion of the Bulala (Gaoga—quite different from Gogo). But Omar is probably another lapse of memory for Selma or 'Abd el-Jelîl, the father of the prince whom Idris (*ut supra*) conquered. The name Omar does not occur in the Bulala dynasty.

(23) Until the reign of Mai Ali Ghazideni the Bornu people, as Leo describes them, lived in temporary encampments in the conquered country. These famous warriors, however, built Birni, or Ghasr-eggomo, the first capital, though Nanigham ("a certaine large village") had for some time previously served the purpose, being the usual royal residence. Birni, on the river Wau, three days west of Kukawa, the present capital, is now a ruin six miles in circumference, thickly overgrown with rank grass.

(24) This refers mainly to the Pagan mountaineers, for even in Leo's day most of the more civilised Kanuri and other races of Bornu must have been as strict Mohammedans are they are at present.

(25) This "puissant prince" must have been Mai Ali Ghazideni. The Kanuri language does not now contain any Libyan (Berber) elements, but the tongue of the conqueror may have been effaced by that of the conquered, just as the Bulala (Gaogo), who in Leo's time spake Kanuri, have now entirely forgotten it, adopting the language of the Kuka tribe, among whom they founded a dynasty. The Bardoa, a tribe mentioned by Makrîzi as Berdoa (between which names and Bernu or Bornu, Borgu, Berdama, Berauni, and Berber, Barth thinks there is an "ethnological connection") are, however, more nearly allied to the Teda or Tibu than to the Berber or Mazigh. The Sultan Bello expressly traces the Bornu dynasty to a Berber origin: hence the Hausa people call every Bornu man "ba-Berbersh" and the Bornu nation "Berbere"; and Makrîzi says that it was a common tradition of the kingdom that they were descended from the Berbers.—Barth, *Travels*, vol. ii, p. 269.

(26) Seu, Shawi. See also Cooley, *Negroland*, p. 129, and *Claudius Ptolemy and the Nile*, p. 9.

The "fontaine of Niger" ("capo donde nasce il Niger") is evidently "the Lake of the Desert of Gaoga", in which he places the sources of that river—Lake Tshad of more modern explorers. The "Desert of Set" is the easterly portion of the Sahara. Beside millet (*Pennisetum*) and durra (*Sorghum*) in various varieties, Sesamum is cultivated, and the seeds of a grass (*Poa abyssinica*?) referred to by Denham, are extensively eaten.

(27) Gaoga or Gaogao is the powerful empire of the Bulala dynasty, founded by the successors of Jil Shikomeni among the Kuka. The similarity of the name to Gogo, capital of the Songhai empire, has caused much confusion and given origin to many superfluous theories. Leo's statements, though vague in places, leave no doubt about its being what the Bornu people know as Bulala. It derived the name Gaogo (Kaoka) from the Kuka tribe, in whose territory the Bulala of the princely family of Kanem, guided by Jil (surnamed Shikomeni) ("a certaine Negro slaue"), founded an empire which at one time stretched from Eastern Bagirmi to the interior of Darfur. Islam is generally believed not to have been introduced into Gaoga until the seventeenth century. But Leo speaks of the rulers of the country, who, like the Kanem princes, were Mohammedans even in Makrîzi's time—that is, a century before Leo wrote.

(28) Goran, Gorham (Marmol), corrupted by Pory, Blome, and other compilers into Gorham, is Kordofan.

(29) Dongola Aguse, or Old Dongola, the capital of the ancient kingdom of that name, then independent, now in ruins, has never recovered from the ravages of the Mamlukes in 1820 and the rise of New Dongola; the barracks of which are said to have been built after a plan by Ehrenberg, the famous German Naturalist, who just then happened to be visiting the Nile Valley.

(30) "Ma le case sono tutte triste, fabricate con creta e pali"—that is, the houses are all wretched, built of clay and poles—in short, "wattle and daub".

(31) "Molto zibetto e legno di sandalo." But the true sandal wood is not found in Africa. Sanderswood is sometimes called sandalwood. One of the civets (*Viverra civetta*) inhabits North Africa.

(32) This story is apparently one of the legends told by the traders: for there is no poison known in Africa, much less in Nubia, which at all conforms to this description.

(33) Leo's account of Nubia is very perfunctory, and to a large extent suspiciously second-hand. He gives the term a very wide significance; for he makes Nubia to march with Bornu on the westward, with Kordofan on the south, and on the north with the Nubian Desert, which four centuries ago seems to have been recognised as about the southern boundary of Egypt. Nubia is thus only a geographical expression, since even at that date it comprised several independent kingdoms, including Kordofan, Darfur, and Dongola. Nor, unless Leo considered the Blue or Abyssinian Nile the main river, is the Nile in any place, even in the driest season, capable of

being waded. The Zingani of whom he has already spoken cannot be classed with any known people of the region described. From the Italian "Zingani" (gypsies, vagabonds) being used, they are doubtless intended to be described as wanderers, they "speake a kinde of language that no one understandeth". The ethnology of Nubia is, however, very complicated. But though the origin and relationship to the three great stocks inhabiting it are doubtful, their distinctness is clear enough. There are the Arabs, now very mixed, intruders of a comparatively recent date, the Hamitic Ababdeh, and Beja or Bisharin, the "Bugia" of Leo (the Begas of Makrîzi, the Bugas of Greek and Axumite inscriptions, perhaps the Buka of the Egyptian hieroglyphs), and the Negro or Negroid Barabira, the nearest relatives of the original Nubos, from whom Nubia derived its name. (Lepsius, *Nubische Grammatik*, 1880; Reinisch, *Die Nuba-Sprache*, 1879.) The tongue is therefore correctly described as "mixt", but it is, of course, absurd to regard the Chaldean as akin to it; though as the Bejas occupy most of the upland country between Upper Egypt and Abyssinia, their language may have some Himyaritic elements in it. The "tribute" they received from the rulers of Dongola and Suakin must have been blackmail.—Keane, *Ethnology of the Egyptian Sudan* (1884); Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia* (1822).

Ziden is Jiddah, Juddah, Jeddah, Djiddah, or Djeddah, as it is variously spelt. But in the translation Leo is made to say that both Jeddah and "Zibid" were destroyed. In reality it was only the latter, owing to the Soldan of Egypt (in 1426) being provoked at the Bejas of the town pillaging caravans bound for Mecca, while the ruler (signor) and people of Suakin, helped by the Turks armed with bows and fire-arms, took terrible vengeance on the fugitives who sought refuge in that town:—"Ma da cẽto anni in qua, per cagione, che costoro rubarono vna carouana che portaua robba & vettouaglia alla Mecca il Soldano si sdnegno, & maãdo un' armata pel mar rosso la quale assedio & disfece la detta città, & il porto di Zibid, che daua loro d' entrata du gento mila saraffi; allhora quelli che fuggirono, incominciarono a girsene a Dangala & Suachin, qualche piccola cosa quadagnando. Ma dipoi il Signor di Suachin, col favor di certi turchi armati di scheoppi & d'archi, gli dettò vna rotta, perciocchi in vna giornata ammazzarono di questa canaglia che andaua nuda, più che quattro mila persone, e mille ne menarono via a Suachin; i quali furono vccissi dalle femmine & da fanciulli" (Ramusio, ed. 1630, p. 80 *b*). At the time Suakin wreaked this characteristic vengeance on the Beja—with whom the inhabitants had many old scores to settle, though the majority of the people belonged then, as still, to that stock—it was probably under an independent ruler. Like all places on the coast, Suakin was almost invariably under foreigners. Thus, when Ibn

Batuta visited the place, he found a son of the Amir of Mecca reigning over the Beja, by reason of his mother having belonged to that race, kinship and succession going among these people in the female line. (Makrîzi, *Khiṭáṭ*, vol. i, p. 194 *et seq.*; trans. in Burckhardt's *Travels in Nubia*, App. III). Makrîzi says that the chief inhabitants were nominal Moslems, and were called Hadarib. In 1814 the "Emir of Hadarib" was still sovereign of the mainland, though Suakin had an *aga* appointed by the Turkish pasha of Jiddah. The place was settled by the Turks on its conquest by Selim I, about A.D. 1517, some years subsequent to Leo's visit. The Circassian Mamluk, El-Ashraf Bursabey, the same who captured Jeddah and laid John III of Cyprus under tribute, was the Sultan who destroyed Zibid, or Zaibeth, as it appears on Sanson's maps.

# IOHN LEO HIS
## EIGHT BOOKE OF
## the Historie of Africa, and
## *of the memorable things*
## contained therein.

### *Of Egypt.*

THE most noble and famous prouince of Egypt bordering westward vpon the deserts of Barca, Numidia, and Libya; eastward vpon the deserts lying betweene Egypt it selfe and the red sea: and northward vpon the Mediterran sea; is inclosed southward with the land of the foresaid people called Bugiha, and with the riuer of Nilus. It stretcheth in length from the Mediterran sea to the land of the people called Bugiha about fower hundred and fiftie miles: but in bredth it is very narrow; so that it containeth nought but a small distance betweene both the banks of Nilus and the barren mountaines bordering vpon the foresaid deserts, being inhabited onely in that place where Nilus is separate from the saide mountaines: albeit towards the Mediterran sea it extendeth it selfe somewhat broader. For Nilus about fower-score miles from the great citie of Cairo is diuided into two branches, one whereof running in his chanell westward, returneth at length into the maine stream from whence he tooke his originall, and hauing passed about

*Egypt 450 miles long.*

three-score miles beyond Cairo, diuideth it selfe into two other branches, whereof the one runneth to Damiata, and the other to Rosetto. And out of that which trendeth to Damiata issueth another branch, which discharging it selfe into a lake passeth through a certaine gullet or streit into the Mediterran sea, vpon the banke whereof standeth the most ancient citie of Tenesse[1]: and this diuision of Nilus into so many streames and branches causeth Egypt (as I haue beforesaid) to be so narrow. All this prouince is plaine, and is most fruitfull for all kind of graine and pulse. There are most pleasant and greene medowes, and great store of geese and other fowles. The countrey people are of a swart and browne colour: but the citizens are white. Garments they weare which are streite downe to their wastes, and broad beneath, and the sleeues likewise are streight. They couer their heads with a round and high habite called by the Italians a Dulipan. Their shooes are made according to the ancient fashion. In sommer they weare garments of particoloured cotton: but in winter they vse a certaine garment lined with cotton, which they call Chebre: but the chiefe citizens and merchants are apparelled in cloth of Europe. The inhabitants are of an honest, cheerful, and liberall disposition. For their victuals they vse a kinde of newe and extreme salt cheeses, and sowre milke also artificially congealed; which fare albeit they account very daintie, yet cannot strangers digest it, and into everie dish almost they put sower milk.

*A diuision of Egypt.*

SINCE the Mahumetans were Lords of Egypt, it hath beene diuided into three parts. For the region from Cairo to Rosetto is called the shore of Errif; and from Cairo to the lande of Bugiha it is called Sahid, that is to say, The firme land: but the region adioining vpon that branch of Nilus which runneth towardes Damiata and

Tenesse, they call by the name of Bechria or Maremma. All Egypt is exceeding fertile: but the prouince of Sahid excelleth the two other parts for abundance of corne, cattle, fowles, and flaxe: and Maremma aboundeth with cotton and sugar.[2] Howbeit the inhabitants of Maremma and Errif are farre more ciuill then the people of Sahid: bicause those two prouinces lie neerer vnto the sea, and are more frequented by European, Barbarian, and Assirian merchants: but the people of Sahid haue no conuersation with strangers, except it be with a few Ethiopians.

*Of the ancient pedigree and originall of the Egyptians.*

THE Egyptians (as *Moses* writeth) fetch their originall from **Mesraim* the sonne of *Chus*, the sonne of *Cham*, the sonne of *Noe*; and the Hebrewes call both the countrie and the inhabitants of Egypt by the name of Mesraim. The Arabians call Egypt it selfe Mesre, but the inhabitants Chibith. And Chibith (they say) was the man, that first took vpon him the gouernment of this region, and began first to builde houses thereon. Also the inhabitants call themselues by the same name: neither are there left any true Egyptians, besides a fewe Christians, which are at this present remaining. The residue embracing the Mahumetan religion haue mingled themselues amongst the Arabians & the Moores.[3] This kingdome was gouerned many yeeres by the Egyptians themselues, as namely by the kings that were called *Pharao*, (who by their monuments and admirable buildings, seeme to haue beene mightie princes) and also by the kings called *Ptolomæi*. Afterward being subdued vnto the Romaine Empire, this kingdome since the comming of Christ was conuerted vnto the Christian religion, vnder the saide Romaine gouernment: since the decay of which Empire, it fell into the possession of the Emperours of Constantinople; who being very carefull to maintaine this kingdome, were at.

*Gen.* 10. 6.

* *Mesraim is recorded to be the brother of Chus, and the sonne of Cham. Ghibith.*

length depriued thereof by the Mahumetans, vnder the conduct of *Hamrus* the sonne of *Hasi*,[4] being appointed captaine generall ouer the Arabian armie of *Homar* the second Califa or Mahumetan patriarke of that name: who permitting all men to haue their owne religion required nought but tribute at their hands. The said captaine built vpon the banke of Nilus a certaine towne called by the Arabians Fustato, which word signifieth in their language tabernacle: for when he first vndertooke this expedition, he marched through wilde and desert places voide of inhabitants, so that his armie was constrained to lye in tents. The common people call this towne Mesre Hatichi, that is to say, the auncient citie; which notwithstanding in comparison of Cairo may not vnfitly be called the New citie.[5] And as concerning the situation of this towne many excellent men both Christians, Iewes, and Mahumetans haue in these our times beene deceiued. For they thinke Mesre to be situate in the same place where king *Pharao* in the time of *Moses*, and king *Pharao* in the time of *Joseph* had their aboade: because they suppose the towne of *Pharao* to haue stood in that part of Africa where Nilus stretcheth out one of his armes westward towards Africa, and where the Pyramides are as yet to be seene: which the holy Scripture also seemeth to auouch in the books of Genesis, where it is said, that the Iewes in *Moses* time were employed about the building of the town of Aphthun, which was founded by *Pharao*: namely in that place where Nilus trendeth towards Africa, being about fiftie miles southward of Cairo, and neere vnto the most westerly arme or branch of Nilus. They alleage also another probabilitie, that the towne of *Pharao* was built in the same place, because that at the verie head or confluence of the branches of Nilus there standeth a building of maruellous antiquitie, called the sepulchre of *Ioseph*, wherein the dead bodie of *Ioseph* lay, till it was by the

*The towne of Pharao.*

*The sepulchre of Ioseph.*

Iewes transported vnto the sepulchre of their fathers.[6] To be briefe, neither Cairo nor any place neere vnto it, can by any likelyhood chalenge that they were at any time inhabited by the ancient *Pharaos*. But heere it is to be noted, that the nobilitie of the ancient Egyptians dwelt in times past in the region of Sahid beyond Cairo, in the cities of Fium, of Manfichmin, and in other such famous cities. Howbeit after Egypt was conquered by the Romans, the Egyptian nobilitie planted themselues in the region of Errif, vpon the sea shore thereof, namely about the cities of Alexandria, Rosetto, and other famous townes retayning as yet the Latine names. Also when the Roman Empire was translated into Greece, the said nobilitie still inhabited vpon the sea-shore, the Emperors lieutenant residing at Alexandria: but after the Mahumetans got the dominion of Egypt, the foresaide nobilitie retired themselues into the inland, hoping thereby to reape a double commoditie: namely first in that they might be a meanes to pacifie the kingdome on both sides of them, and secondly that they might be free from the inuasions of the Christians, whereof they should haue beene in danger, had they remained any longer vpon the sea coast.

*Of the qualitie and temperature of the ayre in Egypt.*

THe ayre of this countrey is hot and vnholesome: and it raineth here verie seldome or neuer. And raine is the cause of many diseases in Egypt: for in rainie weather some of the Egyptians are subiect vnto dangerous rheumes and feuers: and others vnto a strange kinde of swelling in their priuie members: which swelling the Phisicians impute vnto salt-cheese and beefe, which are the common diet of the Egyptians. In sommer time this countrey is most extremely hot, for a remedie of which heat they build in euerie towne certaine high towers, hauing one doore aloft, and another beneath, right ouer

against the houses, through the tops whereof the winde passing downward, doth somewhat coole and refresh the ayre: otherwise in regard to the intollerable heat of the sun it were impossible for any man to liue there. Sometime the pestilence is so hot among them, especially at Cairo, that almost euery day there die twelue thousand persons thereof. But with the French poxe I thinke that no other countrey vnder heauen is so molested, nor that containeth so many people infected therewith.[7] About the beginning of Aprill they reape their corne, and hauing reaped it, they presently thrash the same; neither shall you see one eare of their corne standing till the twentith of May. The inundation or overflow of Nilus beginneth about the middest of Iune, increasing afterward for the space of fortie daies, and for the space of other fortie daies also decreasing: during which time all the cities and townes of Egypt are like vnto Ilands, which none can come vnto but by boates and barges. At this time also Nilus is verie fit to be sayled vpon with vessels of burthen; some whereof are so big that they will containe sixe thousand bushels of corne, and an hundreth head-cattell: and in these vessels they sayle onely downe the streame: for against the streame it were impossible for them to passe emptie. The Egyptians according to the increase of Nilus doe foresee the plentie or dearth of the yeere following: as we will more at large declare, when we come to speake of the island of Nilus ouer against the olde citie, where the inundation of Nilus is measured. Neither is it our purpose in this place particularly to describe all the cities of Egypt, because our African writers are of diuers opinions thereabout; for some would haue Egypt to be a part of Africa, but others are of a contrarie minde. Diuers there are that affirme that part of Egypt adioyning vpon the deserts of Barbarie, Numidia, and Libya, to belong vnto Africa. Some others ascribe vnto Africa all those places

*Extreme pestilence.*

*The French maladie most rife in Egypt.*

*The increase of Nilus.*

that border vpon the principall and maine chanel of Nilus: but as for other places, as namely Manf, Fium, Semenud, Damanhore, Berelles, Tenesse, and Damiata, they thinke them not to be situate in Africa: which opinion I my selfe also vpon many and great reasons take to be true. Wherefore my purpose is to describe none other cities but such as stand neere the maine and principall chanell of Nilus.

### *Of the citie of Bosiri.*

THe ancient citie of Bosiri built by the Egyptians vpon the Mediterran sea, and standing twenty miles westward from Alexandria, was in times past enuironed with most strong walles, and adorned with most beautifull and stately buildings. At this present it is compassed with many possessions or grounds bearing dates, whereof no man taketh charge nor reapeth any commoditie: for when Alexandria was woon by the Christians, the inhabitants abandoned this citie, and fled towards the lake called Buchaira.[8]

### *Of the great citie of Alexandria in Egypt.*

THe great citie of Alexandria in Egypt founded by *Alexander* the great, not without the aduise of most famous and skilfull architects, vpon a beautifull point of land stretching into the Mediterran sea, and being distant 40. miles westward of Nilus,[9] was in times past, till it grew subiect vnto the Mahumetans, most sumptuously and strongly built, as diuers and sundry authors beare record. Afterward this citie decaying many yeeres together, was depriued of the ancient renowme and honour, and remained in manner desolate, because no merchants of Greece, nor of any other part of Europe exercised any longer traffique therein. Howbeit a certaine craftie Mahumetan patriarke made the rude people beleeue, that by the prophecie of *Mahumet* most ample indulgences were granted vnto all

such as would inhabite the citie or garde it for certaine daies, and would bestow some almes for a publike benefite: by which wilie stratagem the citie was in short time filled with forren people, which from all places resorted thereunto: by whom were built many houses neere vnto the citie-walles, and many colleges of students, and diuers monasteries for the reliefe of pilgrims.[10] The citie it selfe is fower square, and hath fower gates to enter in at: one standing on the east side towards Nilus, another on the south side towards the lake of Buchaira, the third westward towards the desert of Barca, and the fourth towards the Mediterran sea, and the hauen; whereat stand the searchers and customers, which ransacke strangers euen to their verie shirts: for they demaund custome not onely for wares and merchandize, but also some allowance in the hundred for all kinde of money. Neere vnto the citie-walles there are two other gates also, being diuided asunder by a faire walke, and a most impregnable castle, which standeth vpon the stand or wharfe of the port commonly called *Marsa el Bargi*, that is to say, the port of the castle: in which port ride the principall and best ships, namely such as come from Venice, Genoa, Ragusa, with other ships of Europe. For hither resort the English, the low Dutch, the Biscaines, the Portugals, and men of all other nations in Europe for traffiques sake. Howbeit this port is most vsually frequented by the ships of Appulia, Sicilia, and of Greece, which are Turkish ships; all which resort into this harbour to saue themselues from pirates, and from tempestuous weather. Another port there is also called *Marsa Esil Sela*, that is to say, the port of the chaine, wherein the ships of Barbarie, namely those of Tunis & of the isle of Gerbi harbor themselues.[11] The Christians are constrained to pay about the 10. part for all wares that they bring in & carie out, but the Mahumetans pay but the 20. part: and whatsoeuer wares

*Ancient traffique of the English vnto Alexandria.*

are caried by land to Cairo pay no custom at all. And at this present that part of the citie which is next vnto Cairo is the most famous and best furnished with merchandize brought by merchants from al places of the world. The other parts of this city are destitute both of ciuilitie & inhabitants: for except one long street, and that part of the citie next the hauen which is full of merchants shops, & inhabited by christians, the residue is void and desolate. Which desolation happened at that time, when *Lewis* the fourth king of France being restored to libertie by the Soldan, the king of Cyprus with a fleet partly of Venetians & partly of Frenchmen suddenly assailed Alexandria, and with great slaughter surprized and sacked the same. But the Soldan comming with an huge armie to rescue Alexandria, so discouraged the Cyprians, that they burnt downe the houses thereof and betooke themselues to flight.[12] Whereupon the Soldan repairing the walles, and building a castle neere vnto the hauen, the citie grew by little and little into that estate, wherein it standeth at this present. In the citie of Alexandria there is a certaine high mount fashioned vnto the place called Testaccio at Rome, whereon, although it hath no naturall situation, are found diuers earthen vessels of great antiquitie. Vpon the top of the said mount standeth a turret, where a certaine officer is appointed to watch for such ships as direct their course towards the citie, who for euery ship that he giueth notice of vnto the customers, receiveth a certain fee: but if he chanceth to fall asleep, or be out of the way at the arriuall of any ship, whereof he certifieth not to the customers, he paieth double for his negligence into the Soldans exchequer.[13] Vnder each house of this citie there is a great vaulted cesterne built upon mightie pillers and arches: whereinto the water of Nilus at euery inundation is conueied vnder the walles of the citie, by a certaine woonderfull and most artificiall sluce standing without the city it selfe. But these cesternes

*Alexandria surprised and sacked by the king fo Cyprus.*

*The water of Nilus brought by a sluce into Alexandria.*

growing sometime corrupt and fowle, are often in summer the occasion of many diseases and infirmities. This citie standeth in the midst of a sandie desert, and is destitute of gardens and vines, neither is the soil found about it apt to beare corne: so that their corne is brought them from places fortie miles distant. Howbeit neere the foresaid sluce, whereby the water of Nilus is conueied into the citie, are certaine little gardens, the fruits whereof being growen to ripenes are so vnholesome, that they breed feuers and other noisome diseases among the citizens. Sixe miles westward of Alexandria, among certaine ancient buildings, standeth a piller[14] of a woonderfull height and thicknes, which the Arabians call Hemadussaoar, that is to say, the piller of trees. Of this piller there is a fable reported, that *Ptolemey* one of the kings of Alexandria built it upon an extreme point of land stretching from the hauen, whereby to the end he might defend the citie from the inuasion of forren enemies, and make it inuincible, he placed a certaine steele-glasse vpon the top thereof, by the hidden vertue of which glasse as many ships as passed by while the glasse was vncouered should immediately be set on fire; but the said glasse being broken by the Mahumetans, the secret vertue thereof vanished, and the great piller whereon it stood was remooued out of the place. But this is a most ridiculous narration, and fit for babes to giue credit vnto. At this present there are amongst the ancient inhabitants of Alexandria many Christians called Iacobites, being all of them artizans & merchants: these Iacobites haue a church of their own to resort vnto, wherein the body of S. *Mark* the Euãgelist lay in times past interred, which hath since beene priuily stolne by the Venetians, & carried vnto Venice. And the said Iacobites pay tribute vnto the gouernour of Cairo.[15] Neither is it to be passed ouer in silence, that in the midst of the ruinous monuments of Alexandria there remaineth as yet a certaine little house

*Certaine Christians called Iacobites.*

built in forme of a chappell, and containing a sepulchre much honoured by the Mahumetans, wherein they affirme but of the authoritie of their Alcaron, that the bodie of the high prophet and king (as they terme him) *Alexander* the great lieth buried. And thither resort yeerely great multitudes of pilgrimes from forren nations, to adore and reuerence the said sepulchre, and oftentimes to bestow large almes thereupon.[16] Other things woorthie the noting I purposely passe ouer, least I should seeme too tedious vnto the reader.

## *Of the citie of Bochir.*

THis ancient and small citie situate in times past vpon the Mediterran sea shore eight miles eastward of Alexandria, lieth at this time vtterly desolate, nought remaining thereof, but certaine ruines of the walles. It is now planted with date-trees, wherewith the poore inhabitants dwelling in base and solitarie cottages sustaine themselues. Neere vnto this citie standeth a towre vpon a certaine dangerous rocke, against which many ships of Syria being driuen in the night, doe suffer shipwracke, because they cannot in the darke finde the right course to Alexandria. Round about this citie there are no fields but sandie deserts euen to the riuer of Nilus.[17]

## *Of the citie of Rasid called by the Italians Rosetto.*

THe citie of Rosetto was built by a slaue of a certaine Mahumetan patriarke and gouernour of Egypt,[18] vpon the easterne banke of Nilus three miles from the Mediterran sea, not farre from the place where Nilus dischargeth his streames into the said sea. It containeth most beautifull houses and palaces built vpon the shore of Nilus, and a faire market-place, enuironed on all sides with shops of merchants and artizans, with a stately and sumptuous temple also, hauing some gates towards the

market-place, and others toward Nilus, and certaine commodious staires to descend into the same riuer. Neere vnto the temple there is a certaine harbour for the safetie of ships and barks of burthen that carrie wares vnto Cairo: for the citie being unwalled resembleth a village rather then a citie. About this citie stands diuers cottages, wherein they vse to thrash rice with certaine wooden instruments, & to make ready each moneth three thousand bushels thereof. A little farther from this citie there is a place like vnto a village, wherein great store of hackney-mules, and asses are kept for trauellers to ride vpon vnto Alexandria: neither neede the trauellers to guide the saide hackneyes, but to let them run their ordinarie course, for they will goe directly to the same house or inne where they ought to be left: and their pace is so good, that they will from sunne-rising to sunne-set carrie a man fortie miles: they trauell alwaies so neere the sea-shore, that sometimes the waues thereof beat vpon the hackneyes feete. Neere vnto this citie are many fields of dates, and grounds which yeeld aboundance of rice. The inhabitants are of a cheerfull disposition and courteous to strangers, especially to such as loue to spend their time in iollitie and disport. Here is a stately bath-stoue also, hauing fountaines both of cold and hot water belonging thereunto, the like whereof for stately and commodious building is not to be found in Egypt besides. I my selfe was in this citie when *Selim* the great Turke returned this way from Alexandria, who with his priuate and familiar friends beholding the said bath-stoue, seemed to take great delight and contentment therein.[19]

*Iohn Leo was at Rasid the same time when Selim the great Turke passed that way.*

### *Of the citie called Anthius.*

THis citie was built vpon the easterne banke of Nilus by the Romans, as many Latin inscriptions engrauen in marble, and remaining til this present do beare

sufficient record. It is a beautifull and well-gouerned citie, and is furnished with men of all kinde of trades and occupations. The fields adiacent abound with great plentie of rice, corne, and dates. The inhabitants are of a cheerefull and gentle disposition, and gaine much by rice which they transport vnto Cairo.[20]

### *Of the citie of Barnabal.*

THis citie was founded at the same time when the Christian religion began to take place in Egypt, vpon the easterne banke of Nilus, in a most pleasant and fruitfull place. Here is such abundance of rice, that in the citie there are more then fower hundred houses for the thrashing and trimming thereof. But they that impose this task vpon the inhabitants, are men of forren countries, and especially of Barbarie, which are so lasciuiously and riotously giuen, that almost all the harlots of Egypt resort hither vnto them, who shaue off their haires to the very bones without any cizzers or rasors.[21]

### *Of the citie of Thebe.*

BY whom this ancient citie of Thebe[22] standing vpon the westerne banke of Nilus should be built, our African chroniclers are of sundry opinions. Some affirme it to be built by the Egyptians, some by the Romans, and others by the Grecians, because there are as yet to be seene most ancient monuments, partly in Latine, partly in Greeke, and partly in Egyptian characters. Howbeit at this present it containeth but three hundred families in all, being most of them very stately and sumptuously built.[23] It aboundeth with corne, rice, and sugar, and with certaine fruits of a most excellent taste called Muse.[24] It is also furnished with great store of merchants and artificers: but the most part of the inhabitants are husbandmen: and if a man walke the streetes in the day-time he shall see none

*The fruits called Muse.*

but trim and beautifull women. The territorie adiacent aboundeth with date-trees which grow so thicke, that a man cannot see the citie, till he approcheth nigh vnto the walles. Here grow likewise store of grapes, figs, and peaches, which are carried in great plentie vnto Cairo. Without the citie there are many ancient monuments, as namely pillers, inscriptions, and walles of a great thicknes built of excellent stone, and such a number of ruinous places, that this citie seemeth in times past to haue beene very large.

### *Of the citie of Fuoa.*

THis citie being distant about 45. miles southward from Rosetto, was built by the Egyptians on the side of Nilus next vnto Asia. The streetes thereof are narrow, being otherwise a well gouerned and populous citie, and abounding with all necessarie commodities. Heere are likewise very faire shops of merchants and artificers, albeit the inhabitants are much addicted vnto their ease and pleasure. The women of this towne liue in so great libertie, that they may go whither they will all the day-time, returning home at night without any controlement of their husbands. The fieldes adiacent abounde greatly with dates, and neere vnto them there is a certaine plaine which is very apt for sugar and corne: howbeit the sugar canes there bring not foorth perfect *Sugar.* sugar, but in steede thereof a certaine kind of honie like sope, which they vse throughout all Egypt, because there is but little other hony in the whole countrey.[25]

### *Of Gezirat Eddeheb, that is to say, the golden Isle.*

OVer against the foresaid city the riuer of Nilus maketh an Isle, which being situate on an high place, bringeth forth all kinde of fruitefull trees except Oliues. Vpon this Island are many palaces and beautifull buildings,

which cannot be seene through the thicke and shadie woods. The soile of this Island being apt for sugar and rice, is manured by most of the inhabitants, but the residue are imploied about carrying of their merchandize vnto Cairo.[26]

### *Of the citie of Mechella.*

THis citie builte by the Mahumetans in my time vpon the easterne shore of Nilus, and enuironed with a lowe wall, containeth great store of inhabitants, the most part of whom being either weauers or husbandmen, are voide of all curtesie and ciuilitie. They bring vp great store of geese which they sell at Cairo; and their fields bring foorth plentie of corne and flaxe.[27]

### *Of the citie of Derotte.*

WHen Egypt was subiect to the Romaine empire, this towne was built also vpon the easterne banke of Nilus: which as it is very populous, so is it adorned with stately buildings and large streets, hauing merchants shops on either side of them. They haue a most beautifull temple, and the citizens are exceeding rich: for their grounde yeeldeth such abundance of sugar, that they pay yeerely vnto the Soldan an hundred thousande peeces of golde, called in their language Saraffi, for their libertie of making and refining thereof. In this citie standeth a certaine great house like vnto a castle, wherein are their presses and caldrons, for the boiling and preparing of their sugar. Neither did I euer in all my life see so many workemen emploied about that busines, whose daily wages (as I vnderstood by a certaine publike officer) amounted to two hundred Saraffi.[28]

*Great abundance of Sugar.*

*Of the citie called Mechellat Chais.*

THe Mahumetans hauing conquered Egypt, built this citie vpon an high hill standing by the westerne banke of Nilus. The fields of this citie being high ground, are apt for to plant vines vpon, bicause the waters of Nilus cannot ouerflow them. This towne affoordeth new grapes vnto Cairo, almost for halfe the yeere long: but the inhabitants are vnciuill people, being most of them watermen and bargemen.[29]

*A description of the huge and admirable citie of Cairo.*

CAiro is commonly reputed to be one of the greatest and most famous cities in al the whole world. But leauing the common reports & opinions thereof, I will exactly describe the forme and estate wherin it * now standeth. And that I may begin with the Etymology or deriuation of the name, Cairo is an Arabian word, corruptly pronounced by the people of Europe: for the true Arabian worde is El Chahira, which signifieth an enforcing or imperious mistresse.[30] This citie built in ancient times by one *Gehoar Chetib* a Dalmatian slaue (as I haue before signified in the beginning of my discourse) containeth within the wals not aboue eight thousand families, being inhabited by noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants that sell wares brought from all other places.[31] The famous temple of Cairo commonly called Gemih Hashare, that is to say, the glorious temple, was built also by the foresaide slaue, whom we affirmed to be the founder of the citie, and whose surname was *Hashare*, that is to say, famous, being giuen him by the Mahumetan patriarke that was his prince.[32] This city standeth vpon a most beautifull plaine, neere vnto a certaine mountaine called Mucatun,[33] about two miles distant from Nilus, and is enuironed with stately wals, and fortified with iron gates: the principall of which

* 1526.

gates is called Babe Nanfre,[34] that is, the gate of victory, which standeth eastward towards the desert of the red sea; and the gate called Beb Zuaila[35] being next vnto the old citie and to Nilus; and also Bebel Futuh,[35] that is to say, the gate of triumph, standing towards the lake and the fieldes. And albeit Cairo aboundeth euerie where with all kinde of merchants and artificers, yet that is the principall streete of the whole citie which stretcheth from the gate of Nanfre to the gate of Zuaila; for in it are builte most stately and admirable palaces and colleges, and most sumptuous temples, among which is the temple of Gemith Elhechim[36] the third schismaticall Califa of Cairo. Other temples there are of a maruèllous bignes, which to describe in particular, I thinke it superfluous. Heere are many bath-stoues also very artificially built. Next of all is the streete called Beinel Casrain,[37] containing to the number of three-score cooks or victualers shops, furnished with vessels of tinne: there are certaine other shops also, wherein are to be solde delicate waters or drinkes made of all kinds of fruits, being for noblemen to drinke of, and these waters they keepe most charily in fine vessels, partly of glasse, and partly of tinne: next vnto these are shops where diuers confections of hony and sugar, vnlike vnto the confections of Europe, are to be sold: then follow the fruiterers shops, who bring outlandish fruits out of Syria, to wit, quinces, pomegranates, and other fruits which grow not in Egypt: next vnto them are the shops of such as sell egges, cheese, and pancakes fried with oile. And next of all there is a streete of the principall artificers shops. Beyond which streete standeth a college built by the Soldan called *Ghauri*, who was slaine in a battaile against *Selim* the great Turke.[38] And next vnto the college are diuers rankes of drapers shops. In the first ranke there is most outlandish linnen cloth to be sold, as namely fine cloth of cotton brought from Balabach,[39] and cloth called Mosall

*Delicate drinks made of all kind of fruits.*

*Soldan Ghauri.*

brought from Ninou[40] of a maruellous bredth and finenesse, whereof noblemen and others of account haue shirts made them, and scarffes to weare vpon their Dulipans. Besides these there are certaine mercers shops where the rich stuffes of Italy, namely silke, damaske, veluet, cloth of golde,[41] and such like are to be bought, vnto which stuffes I neuer sawe anie comparable (to my remembrãce) in Italy, where they vse to be made. Next vnto the mercers are the woollen drapers which bring cloth out of Europe, as namely from Florence, Venice, Flanders, and other places. Next of all there are chamblets to be sold: and from thence the way lieth to the gate of Zuaila, at which gate dwell great store of artificers. Neere vnto the saide way standeth the famous Burse called Canel Halili,[42] wherin the Persian merchants dwell. It is built very stately in maner of a kings palace, and is of three stories high: beneath it are certaine conuenient roomes whither merchants for the exchange of rich and costly wares do resort: for heere do the principall and most wealthie merchants abide; whose wares are spices, precious stones, cloth of India, and such like. Next vnto the Burse standeth a streete of shops where all kinde of perfumes, namely ciuet, muske, amber, and such like are to be solde:[43] which commodities are heere in so great plentie, that if you aske for twentie pounds of muske they will presently shewe you an hundred. Next followeth the streete of the paper merchants where you may buie most excellent and smooth paper: heere also are to be sold iewels and precious stones of great value, which the brokers carrie from one shop to another. Then come you to the goldsmiths streete being inhabited for the most part by Iewes, who deale for riches of great importance.[44] And next vnto the goldsmiths are certaine streets of vpholsters or brokers, who sell the apparell and rich furniture of noblemen and other citizens at the second hande; which are not cloakes,

coates, napery, or such like, but things of exceeding price and value: amongst which I my selfe once sawe a beautifull pauilion embrodered with needle-worke, and beset with pearles that weighed fortie pounds, which pearles being taken out of it were solde for ten thousand Saraffi. In this citie also there is a most stately hospitall built by *Piperis* the first Soldan of the Mamalucks race[45]: the yearly reuenues whereof amount vnto two hundred thousand Saraffi. Hither may any impotent or diseased persons resort, and be well prouided of phisitions, and of all things necessarie for those that are sicke, who if they chance to die heere, all their goods are due vnto the hospitall.

*A stately hospitall.*

### *Of the suburb called Beb Zuaila.*

THis great suburbe belonging vnto Cairo, and containing about twelue thousand families, beginneth at the gate of Zuaila, and extendeth westward almost a mile & a halfe; southward it bordereth vpon the palace of the Soldan, and stretcheth northward for the space of a mile vnto the suburbe called Beb Elloch. Heere dwell as many noble men and gentlemen almost, as within the city it selfe; and the citizens haue shops both heere and in the citie, as likewise many inhabitants of this suburbe maintaine families in the citie also. Amongst all the buildings of this suburbe the principall is that stately college built by Soldan *Hesen*,[46] being of such a woonderfull height and great strength, that oftentimes the colleges haue presumed to rebell against the Soldan, and therein to fortifie themselues against the whole citie, and to discharge ordinance against the Soldans castle which is but halfe a crosse-bowe shot distant.

### *Of the suburbe called Gemeh Tailon.*

THis huge suburbe confining eastwarde vpon the foresaid suburbe of Beb Zuaila extendeth westward to certaine ruinous places neere vnto the olde citie. Before

the foundation of Cairo this suburbe was erected by one *Tailon*, who was subiect vnto the Califa of Bagdet, and gouernour of Egypt, and was a most famous and prudent man.[47] This *Tailon* leauing the old citie, inhabited this suburbe, and adorned the same with a most admirable palace, and sumptuous temple. Heere dwell also great store of merchants, and artificers, especially such as are Moores of Barbarie.

### *Of the suburbe called Beb Elloch.*[48]

THis large suburbe being distant from the wals of Cairo about the space of a mile, and containing almost three thousand families, is inhabited by merchants, and artizans of diuers sorts as well as the former. Vpon a certaine large place of this suburbe standeth a great palace and a stately college built by a certaine Mammaluck called *Iazbach*, counseller vnto the Soldan of those times; and the place it selfe is called after his name Iazbachia.[49] Hither after Mahumetan sermons and deuotions, the common people of Cairo, togither with the baudes and harlots, do vsually resort; and many stage plaiers also, and such as teach camels, asses, and dogs, to daunce: which dauncing is a thing very delightfull to behold, and especially that of the asse: who hauing frisked and daunced a while, his master comes vnto him and tels him with a loude voice, that the Soldan being about to builde some great palace, must vse all the asses of Cairo to carrie morter, stones, and other necessarie prouision. Then the asse falling presently to the ground, and lying with his heeles vpward, maketh his belly to swell, and closeth his eies as if he were starke dead. In the meanewhile his master lamenting the misfortune of the asse vnto the standers by, earnestly craueth their friendly assistance and liberalitie to buie him a newe asse. And hauing gathered of each one as much money as he can get; you are much deceiued my masters (quoth

*These asses are somewhat like to Banks his curtall, that plaid his prises all England ouer.*

he) that thinke mine asse to be dead: for the hungrie iade knowing his masters necessity hath wrought this sleight, to the end he might get some money to buie him prouender. Then turning about to the asse, he commandeth him with all speede to arise: but the asse lyeth starke still, though he command and beate him neuer so much: whereupon turning againe to the people, Be it knowen (quoth he) vnto you all, that the Soldan hath published an edict or proclamation, that to morrow next all the people shall go foorth of the citie to beholde a triumph; and that all the honourable and beautifull ladies and gentlewomen shall ride vpon the most comely asses, and shall giue them otes to eate, and the christall water of Nilus to drinke. Which words being scarce ended, the asse suddenly starteth from the ground, prancing & leaping for ioy: then his master prosecuting still his narration; but (saith he) the warden of our streete hath borrowed this goodly asse of mine for his deformed and olde wife to ride vpon. At these wordes the asse, as though hee were indued with humaine reason, coucheth his eares, and limpeth with one of his legges, as if it were quite out of ioint. Then saith his master; What, sir Iade, are you so in loue with faire women? The asse nodding his head seemeth to say, yea. Come on therefore sirra (quoth his master) and let us see among all these prettie damosels, which pleaseth your fancie best. Whereupon the asse going about the companie, and espying some woman more comely and beautiful then the rest, walketh directly vnto her and toucheth her with his head: and then the beholders laugh and crie out amaine: Lo, the asses paramour, the paramour of the asse. Whereupon the fellow that shewed all this sport leaping vpon the backe of his asse rideth to some other place.[50] There is also another kinde of charmers or iuglers, which keepe certaine little birds in cages made after the fashion of cupboords, which birds will reach vnto

*Soothsaying birds.*

any man with their beaks certaine skroules contayning either his good or euill successe in time to come. And whosoeuer desireth to know his fortune must giue the bird an halfepenie: which shee taking in her bill carrieth into a little boxe, and then comming foorth againe bringeth the said skroule in her beake. I my selfe had once a skroule of ill fortune giuen me, which although I little regarded, yet had I most vnfortunate successe then was contained therein. Also there are masters of defence playing at all kinde of weapons, and others that sing songs of the battels fought betweene the Arabians and Egyptians, whenas the Arabians conquered Egypt, with diuers others that sing such toyes and ballads vnto the people.[51]

*Of the suburb called Bulach.*

THis large and ancient suburb of Cairo standing two miles distant from the walles of the citie vpon the banke of Nilus, containeth fower thousand families. Vpon the way lying betweene the suburb and this citie, stand diuers houses, and mils turned about by the strength of beasts. In this suburb dwell many artificers and merchants, especially such as sell corne, oyle, and sugar. Moreouer it is full of stately temples, palaces, and colledges: but the fairest buildings thereof stand along the riuer Nilus, for from thence there is a most beautifull prospect vpon the riuer, and thither do the vessels and barkes of Nilus resort vnto the common stathe of Cairo being situate in this suburb: at which place you shall see at some times, and especially in the time of haruest, aboue 1000. barkes. And here the officers appointed to receiue custome for wares brought from Alexandria and Damiata haue their aboad: albeit but little tribute be demaunded for the said wares, because it was payd before at the port of their arriuall: but those wares that come out of the firme land of Egypt allow entire custome.[52]

*Of the suburb called Charafa.*

THE suburbe of Carafa built in manner of a towne, and standing from mount Muccatim a stones cast, and from the walles of the citie about two miles, containeth almost two thousand housholds. But at this day the greatest part thereof lyeth waste and destroyed. Here are many sepulchres built with high and stately vaults and arches, and adorned on the inner side with diuers emblemes and colours, which the fond people adore as the sacred shrines, & monuments of saints, spreading the pauement with sumptuous and rich carpets. Hither euerie friday morning resort out of the citie it selfe and the suburbs, great multitudes of people for deuotions sake, who bestow liberall and large almes.[53]

*Of the old citie called Mifrulhetich.*

THis citie being the first that was built in Egypt in the time of the Mahumetans, was founded by *Hamre* captaine generall ouer the forces of *Homar* the second Muahmetan patriarke vpon the banke of Nilus, resembling a suburb because it is vnwalled, and containing to the number of fiue thousand families.[54] It is adorned, especially by the riuer Nilus, with diuers palaces and houses of noblemen, and also with the famous temple of *Hamre*[55] being of an huge bignes, and most stately built. It is also indifferently well prouided of tradesmen and artificers. And here standeth the famous sepulchre of a woman reputed most holy by the Mahumetans, and called by them Saint *Nafissa*, which was the daughter of one called *Zenulhebidin* being the sonne of *Husein*, the son of *Heli*, who was cousin-german vnto *Mahumet*. The said *Nafissa* seeing all of her family to be depriued of the Mahumetan patriarkship, left Cufa a citie of *Arabia Felix*, and came and dwelt in this citie; *Saint Nafissa.*

partly because she was of the linage of *Mahumet*, and partly for that she liued an innocent and blamelesse life, the people after her death ascribed diuine honours, canonizing her for a Saint. Wherefore the schismaticall patriarks of her kinred hauing got the vpper hand in Egypt, began to build for *Nafissa* most beautifull shrine or sepulchre, which they adorned also with siluer-lamps, with carpets of silke, and such like precious ornaments. So great is the renowne of this *Nafissa*, that there commeth no Mahumetan either by sea or land vnto Cairo, but hee adoreth this sepulchre, and bringeth his offering thereunto, as likewise doe all the Mahumetans inhabitating thereabout: insomuch that the yeerely oblations and almes offered at this sepulchre, partly for the reliefe of the poore kinsfolkes of Mahumet, and partly for the maintenance of the priests which keep the saide sepulchre, amount vnto 100000. Saraffi: which priests by fained and counterfeit miracles do dayly delude the mindes of the simple, to the ende they may the more inflame thir blinde deuotion, and may stirre them to greater liberalitie. When *Selim* the great Turke woone the citie of Cairo, his *Ianizaries* rifling this sepulchre, found there the summe of 500000. Saraffi in readie money, besides the silver-lampes, the chaines, and carpets: but *Selim* tooke away a great part of that treasure from them. Such as write the liues of the Mahumetan saints, making very honourable mention of this *Nafissa*, say that she was descended of the noble family of *Heli*, and that she was most famous for her vertuous and chast life: but the fonde people and the priest of that excecrable sepulchre haue deuised many fained and superstitious miracles.[56] In this suburbe also neere vnto the riuer of Nilus is the customers office for such wares as are brought out of the Prouince of Sahid. Without the walled citie stand the magnificent and stately sepulchres of the Soldans, built with admirable and huge arches.[57] But in my time

a certaine Soldan caused a walke to be built between two high wals from the gate of the citie to the place of the aforesaid sepulchres, and at the endes of both wals caused two turrets of an exceeding height to be erected for marks and directions vnto such merchants as came thither from the port of mount Sinai.[58] About a mile and an halfe from the saide sepulchres in a certaine place called Amalthria there is a garden containing the onely balme-tree, (for in whole world besides there is not any other tree that beareth true balme) which balme-tree growing in the midst of a large fountaine, and hauing a short stocke or bodie, beareth leaues like vnto vine-leaues, but that they are not so long; and this tree (they say) would vtterly wither and decay, if the water of the fountaine should chance to be deminished. The garden is enuironed with a strong wall, whereinto no man may enter without the speciall fauour and licence of the gouernor.[59] In the midst of Nilus, ouer against the old citie, standeth the isle called Michias,[60] that is to say, The isle of measure, in which isle (according to the inundation of Nilus) they haue a kinde of deuise inuented by the ancient Egyptians, whereby they most certainely foresee the plentie or scarcitie of the yeere following throughout all the land of Egypt. This island is well inhabited and containeth about 1500. families; vpon the extreme point or ende whereof standeth a most beautifull palace built in my remembrance by a Soldan, and a large temple also, which is verie pleasant in regard of the coole streames of Nilus. Vpon another side of the Island standeth an house alone by it selfe, in the midst whereof there is a fouresquare cestern or chanell of eighteene cubits deepe, whereinto the water of Nilus is conueied by a certaine sluce vnder the ground. And in the midst of the cestern there is erected a certaine piller, which is marked and diuided into so many cubits as the cesterne it selfe containeth in depth. And vpon the seuenteenth of June when

*The place where balme groweth.*

*The manner of measuring the increase of Nilus.*

*This piller is called by Plinie Niloscopium.*

Nilus beginneth to ouerflow, the water thereof conueied by the said sluce into the chanell, increaseth daily, sometimes two, and sometimes three fingers, and sometimes halfe a cubite in height. Vnto this place there dayly resort certaine officers appointed by the Senate, who viewing and obseruing the increase of Nilus, declare vnto certaine children how much it hath increased, which children wearing yellow skarffes vpon their heads, doe publish the saide increase of Nilus in euerie streete of the citie and the suburbs, and receiue gifts euerie day of the merchants, artificers, and women so long as Nilus increaseth. The foresaid deuise or experiment of the increase of Nilus is this that followeth. If the water reacheth onely to the fifteeneth cubit of the foresaide piller, they hope for a fruitfull yeere following: but if it stayeth betweene the twelfth cubit and the fifteenth, then the increase of the yeere will proue but meane: if it resteth betweene the tenth and twelfth cubits, then it is a signe that corne will bee solde tenne ducates the bushell. But if it ariseth to the eighteenth cubite, there is a like to follow great scarcitie in regarde of too much moisture: and if the eighteenth cubite be surmounted, all Egypt is in danger to be swallowed up by the inundation of Nilus. The officers therefore declare unto the children the height of the riuer, and the children publish the same in all streetes of the citie, charging the people to feare God, and telling them how high Nilus is increased. And the people being astonied at the woonderfull increase of Nilus, wholy exercise themselues in praiers, and giuing of almes. And thus Nilus continueth fortie daies increasing and fortie daies decreasing; all which time corne is sold very deere, because while the inundation lasteth, euery man may sell at his owne pleasure: but when the eightith day is once past, the clerke of the market appointeth the price of all victuals, and especially of corne, according as he knoweth

by the foresaid experiment, that the high and lowe grounds of Egypt haue receiued either too little, or too much, or conuenient moisture: all which customes and ceremonies being duely performed, there followeth so great a solemnitie, and such a thundering noise of drums and trumpets throughout all Cairo, that a man would suppose the whole citie to be turned vpside downe. And then euery familie hath a barge adorned with rich couerings and carpets, and with torch-light, and furnished with most daintie meates and confections, wherewith they solace themselves. The Soldan also with all his nobles and courtiers resorteth vnto that sluce or conduct, which is called the great conduct, and is compassed round about with a wall, who taking an axe in his hand breaketh the said wall, and so doe his nobles and courtiers likewise: insomuch that the same part of the wall being cast downe which stopped the passage of the water, the riuer of Nilus is so swiftly and forcibly carried through that conduct and through all other conducts and sluces in the city and the suburbes, that Cairo at that time seemeth to be another Venice; and then may you rowe ouer all places of the land of Egypt. Seuen daies and seuen nights together the foresaide festiuall solemnitie continueth in Cairo; during which space the merchants and artificers of the citie may (according to the custome of the ancient Egyptians) consume & spend in torches, perfumes, confections, musique, & such like iollities, al their gaines that they haue gotten the whole yeere past. Without the citie of Cairo, neere vnto the suburbe of *Ben Zuaila*, standeth the castle of the Soldan vpon the side of the mountaine called Mochattan. This castle is enuironed with high and impregnable walles, and containeth such stately and beautifull palaces, that they can hardly be described. Paued they are with excellent marble, and on the roofes they are gilt and curiously painted, their windowes are adorned with

diuers colours, like to the windowes of some places of Europe; and their gates be artificially carued and beautified with gold and azure. Some of these palaces are for the Soldan and his familie: others for the familie of his wife, and the residue for his concubines, his eunuches, and his garde. Likewise the Soldan had one palace to keepe publique feastes in; and another wherein to giue audience vnto forren ambassadours, and to exalt himselfe with great pompe and ceremonies: and another also for the gouernours and officials of his court. But all these are at this present abolished by *Selim* the great Turke.[61]

### *Of the customes, rites, and fashions of the citizens of Cairo.*

THe inhabitants of Cairo are people of a merrie, iocund, and cheerefull disposition, such as will promise much, but performe little. They exercise merchandize and mechanicall artes, and yet trauell they not out of their owne natiue soile. Many students there are of the lawes, but very few of other liberall artes and sciences. And albeit their colleges are continually full of students, yet few of them attaine vnto perfection. The citizens in winter are clad in garments of cloth lined with cotton: in summer they weare fine shirts: ouer which shirts some put on linnen garments curiously wrought with silke, and others weare garments of chamblet, and vpon their heads they carrie great turbants couered with cloth of India.

*The attire of the women of Cairo.*

The women goe costly attired, adorning their foreheads and necks with frontlets and chaines of pearle, and on their heads they weare a sharpe and slender bonet of a span high, being very pretious and rich. Gownes they weare of woollen cloth with streite sleeues, being curiously embrodered with needle-worke, ouer which they cast certaine veiles of most excellent fine cloth of India. They couer their heads and faces with a kinde of blacke scarfe,

through which beholding others they cannot be seene themselues. Vpon their feet they weare fine shooes and pantofles, somewhat after the Turkish fashion. These women are so ambitious & proud, that all of them disdaine either to spin or to play the cookes: wherefore their husbands are constrained to buie victuals ready drest at the cookes shops: for very few, except such as haue a great familie, vse to prepare and dresse their victuals in their owne houses. Also they vouchsafe great libertie vnto their wiues: for the good man being gone to the tauerne or victualling-house, his wife tricking vp her selfe in costly apparell, and being perfumed with sweet and pretious odours, walketh about the citie to solace her selfe, and parley with her kinsfolk and friendes. They vse to ride vpon asses more then horses, which are broken to such a gentle pace, that they goe easier than any ambling horse. These asses they couer with most costly furniture, and let them out vnto women to ride vpon, together with a boy to lead the asse, and certaine footmen to run by. In this citie, like as in diuers others, great store of people carrie about sundrie kindes of victuals to be solde. Many there are also that sell water, which they carrie vp and downe in certaine leather bags vpon the backs of camels: for the citie (as I said before) is two miles distant from Nilus. Others carrie about a more fine and handsome vessell with a cocke or spout of brasse upon it, hauing a cup of Myrrhe or christall in their hands, and these sell water for men to drinke, and for euery draught they take a farthing. Others sell yoong chickens and other fowles by measure, which they hatch after a woonderfull and strange manner.[62] They put great numbers of egges into certaine ouens built upon sundrie loftes, which ouens being moderately het, will within seuen daies conuert all the said egges into chickens. Their measures are bottomlesse, which being put into the basket of the buier, and filled full of chickens,

*The libertie of the women of Cairo.*

*Birds hatched after a strange manner in Egypt.*

they lift it vp, and so let the chickens fall into the basket.[63] Likewise such as buie those chickens hauing kept them a few daies, carry them about to sell againe. The cookes shops stand open very late: but the shops of other artificers shut up before ten of the clocke, who then walke abroad for their solace and recreation from one suburbe to another. The citizens in their common talke vse ribald and filthie speeches: and (that I may passe ouer the rest in silence) it falleth out oftentimes that the wife will complaine of her husband vnto the iudge, that he doth not his dutie nor contenteth her sufficiently in the night season, whereupon (as it is permitted by the Mahumetan law) the women are diuorced and married vnto other husbands. Among the artizans whosoeuer is the first inuentour of any new and ingenious deuise is clad in a garment of cloth of gold, and carried with a noise of musitians after him, as it were in triumph from shop to shop, hauing some money giuen him at euery place. I my selfe once saw one carried about with solemne musicke and with great pompe and triumph, because he had bound a flea in a chaine, which lay before him on a peece of paper for all men to behold. And if any of them chance to fall out in the streetes, they presently goe to buffets, and then a great number of people come flocking about them to see the conflict, and will not depart thence, till they haue reconciled them. Their most usual foode is buffles flesh and great store of pulse: when they goe to dinner or supper, if their familie be little, they lay a short and rounde table-cloth: but if their houshold be great, they spread a large cloth, such as is used in the halles of princes. Amongst the sundrie sectes of religion in this citie, there is one sect of the Moores called Chenesia[64]: and this sect liueth vpon horse-flesh, so that their butchers when they can heare of any halting or lame iade, buy him foorthwith, and set him vp a fatting, and hauing killed him, the said

*The reward of new and ingenious deuises.*

sect of Chenesia come and buy vp his flesh handsmoothe. This sect is rife also among the Turkes, the Mamaluks, and the people of Asia; and albeit the Turkes might freely vse the foode before-mentioned, yet doe they not inure themselues thereunto. In Egypt and in the citie of Cairo there are permitted fower seuerall sectes, differing each from other both in canon and ciuill lawes: all which sects haue their originall from the religion of *Mahumet*. For there were in times past fower men of singular learning, who by subtiltie and sharpnesse of wit, founde out a way to make particular deductions out of *Mahumets* generall preceptes. So that each of them would interpret the opinions of *Mahumet* according to their owne fancie, and would euery man apply them to his owne proper sense; and therefore they must needes disagree much betweene themselues: howbeit growing famous among the common people in regard to their diuers canons & precepts, they were the first authors and founders of the saide fower sects: any one of which whatsoeuer Mahumetan professeth, cannot renounce the same at his pleasure and embrace another sect, vnless he be a man of deepe learning, and knoweth the reasons and allegations of both parts. Also there are in the citie of Cairo fower principall iudges, who giue sentence onely vpon matters of great importance: vnder which fower are substituted other inferiour iudges, in euerie streete of the citie, which decide petie contentions and brabbles. And if the parties which are at controuersie chance to bee of diuers sects, the plaintife may summon and conuent the defendant before the iudge of his streete: howbeit the defendant may, if he will, appeale from him vnto the highest iudge of all, being placed ouer the fower principall iudges aforesaid, and being gouernour of the sect called Essasichia[65]; and this high iudge hath authority to dispense withal or to disanul the decrees of the fower principal, and of all the other inferiour iudges, according

*Fower seuerall sects of the Mahumetan religion permitted in the citie of Cairo.*

as he shall see cause. Whosoeuer attempteth ought against the canons and precepts of his owne religion, is seuerely punished by the iudge of the same religion. Moreouer, albeit the priests of the foresaid sects differ very much, both in their formes of Liturgie or praier, and also in many other respects, yet do they not for that diuersitie of ceremonies hate one another, neither yet do the common people of sundrie sects fal to mutinie & debate: but men indeed of singular learning & much reading confer oftentimes togither, & as in priuate each man affirmeth his owne sect to be the best, so likewise do they confirm their opinions by subtile arguments, neither may any man vnder paine of greeuous punishment reproch any of the saide fower ancient doctors. And in verie deed they all of them follow one and the same religion, to wit, that which is prescribed in the canons of *Hashari* the principall doctor of the Mahumetans, which canons go for currant ouer all Africa, and most part of Asia, except in the dominions of the great Sophi of Persia[66]; who bicause he reiecteth the saide canons, is accounted by other Mahumetans an heretike, and a schismatike. But how such varietie of opinions proceeded from the fowre doctors aforesaid, it were tedious and troublesome to rehearse: he that is desirous to knowe more of this matter, let him read my Commentaries which I haue written concerning the lawe and religion of Mahumet according to the doctrine of *Malich*,[67] who was a man of profound learning, and was borne at Medina Talnabi, where the body of *Mahumet* lieth buried: which doctrine of *Malich* is embraced throughout all Syria, Egypt, and Arabia: wherewith if any man be delighted, let him peruse my foresaide Commentaries, and they will satisfie him to the full. Vpon malefactors they inflict most greeuous and horrible punishment, especially vpon such as haue committed any heinous crime in the court. Theeues they condemne to the halter.

A murther committed trecherously they punish in manner following: the executioners assistants take the malefactor one by the head, and another by the feete, and then comes the chiefe executioner with a two-hand sword, and cutteth his body in twaine, the one part whereof adioining to the head is put into a fire full of vnslaked lime: and it is a most strange and dreadfull thing to consider, howe the same dismembred and halfe body will remaine aliue in the fire for the space of a quarter of an hower, speaking and making answer vnto the standers by. But rebels or seditious persons they flea aliue, stuffing their skins with bran till they resemble mans shape, which being done, they carrie the saide stuffed skins vpon camels backs through euery streete of the citie, and there publish the crime of the partie executed: then which punishment I neuer sawe a more dreadfull, by reason that the condemned partie liueth so long in torment: but if the tormenter once toucheth his nauel with the knife, he presently yeeldeth vp the ghost: which he may not do vntill he be commanded by the magistrate standing by.[68] If any be imprisoned for debt, not hauing wherewithall to satisfie the same, the gouernour of the prison paieth their creditors, and sendeth them, poore wretches, bound in chaines, & accompanied with certaine keepers, daily to begge almes from streete to streete, all which almes redoundeth to the gouernor, and he alloweth the saide prisoners very bare maintenance to liue upon. Moreouer there go crying vp and downe this citie certaine aged women, who (though that which they say in the streetes cannot be understood) are notwithstanding inioined by their office to circumcise women according to the prescript of Mahumet: which ceremonie is obserued in Egypt and Syria.[69]

*An horrible kind of execution.*

*The nauel being cut is present death.*

*Women circumcised.*

## *Of the manner of creating the Soldan, and of the orders, degrees, and offices in his court.*

THe dignitie and power of the Soldan was in times past exceeding great; but *Selim* the great Turke in the yeere of Christ (if I be not deceiued) 1517. vtterly abolished the saide dignitie, and changed all the customes and lawes of the Soldan. And bicause it hath beene my hap thrise to trauell into Egypt since the saide woonderfull alteration befell, I suppose it will not be much beside my purpose, if I set downe in this place such particulars as I know to be most certaine true concerning the court of the Soldan. Vnto this high dignitie was woont to be chosen some one of the most noble Mamaluks. These Mamaluks being all Christians at the first, and stolne in their childhoode by the Tartars out of the prouince of Circassia[70] which bordereth vpon the Euxin sea, and being solde at Caffa a towne of Taurica Chersonesus, were brought from thence by certaine merchants vnto the citie of Cairo, and were there bought by the Soldan; who constraining them foorthwith to abiure and renounce their baptisme, caused them to be instructed in the Arabian and Turkish languages, and to be trained vp in militarie discipline, to the end they might ascend from one degree of honour to another, till at last they were aduanced vnto the high dignitie of the Soldan. But this custome whereby it was enacted, that the Soldan should be chosen out of the number of such as were Mamaluks and slaues by their condition, began about 250. yeeres sithens, whenas the family of the valiant *Saladin* (whose name was so terrible vnto Christians) being supported but by a fewe of the kinred, fell to vtter decay and ruine.[71] At the same time when the last king of Ierusalem was determined to sacke the citie of Cairo, which also in regard of the sloth and cowardize of the Mahumeran *Califa* then raigning ouer it, intended to make it selfe tributary vnto

*Iohn Leo was thrise in Egypt.*

*The Mamaluks.*

the same king, the iudges and lawyers of the citie with the consent of the *Califa*, sent for a certaine prince of Asia called *Azedudin*, of the nation of Curdu, (the people whereof liue in tents like the Arabians) which *Azedudin* togither with his sonne *Saladin*, came with an armie of fiftie thousand horsemen. And albeit *Saladin* was inferiour in age vnto his father, yet in regard of his redoubted valour, and singular knowledge in militarie affaires, they created him generall of the field, and gaue him free libertie to bestow all the tributes and reuenues of Egypt, as himselfe shoulde thinke expedient. And so marching at length against the Christians, he got the victorie of them without any bloudshed, and draue them out of Ierusalem and out of all Syria. Then *Saladin* returning backe with triumph vnto Cairo, had an intent to vsurpe the gouernment thereof: whereupon hauing slaine the Califa his guard (who bare principall swaie ouer the Egyptians) he procured the death also of the Califa himselfe, being thus bereft of his guard, with a poisoned cup, and then foorthwith submitted himselfe vnto the patronage of the Califa of Bagdet, who was the true & lawful Mahumetan prelate of Cairo. Thus the iurisdiction of the Califas of Cairo (who had continued lords of that citie by perpetuall succession for the space of two hundred and thirty yeeres) surceased, and returned againe vnto the Califa of Bagdet, who was the true & lawfull gouernour thereof. And so the schismaticall Califas and patriarks being suppressed, there grew a contention between *Saladin* and the Soldan of Bagdet, & *Saladin* made himselfe a soueraigne of Cairo, bicause the saide Soldan of Bagdet being in times past prince of the prouinces of Mazandran and Euarizin situate vpon the riuer Ganges, and being borne in a certaine countrey of Asia, laide claime notwithstanding, vnto the dominion of Cairo, and intending to wage warre against *Saladin*, he was restrained by the Tartars of Corasan, who

made inuasions and inrodes vpon him. *Saladin* on the other side fearing least the Christians in reuenge of the foresaid iniury would make an expedition into Syria, and considering that his forces were partly slain in the former warres, and partly consumed by pestilence, except a few which remained for the defence and safeguard of his kingdome, began to employ himselfe about buying of slaues that came from Circassia, whom the king of Armenia by those daies tooke and sent vnto Cairo to be sold: which slaues he caused to abiure the Christian faith and to be trained vp in feats of warre and in the Turkish language, as being the proper language of *Saladin* himselfe: and so the saide slaues within a while increased so exceedingly both in valour and number, that they became not onely valiant souldiers and skilfull commaunders, but also gouernours of the whole kingdome. After the decease of *Saladin*, the dominion remained vnto his family 150. yeeres, and all his successours obserued the custome of buying slaues of Circassia: but the family of *Saladin* growing at length to decay, the slaues by a generall consent elected one *Piperis* a valiant Mamaluk of their owne companie to be their soueraigne Lord and Soldan: which custome they afterward so inuiolably kept, that not the *Soldans* owne sonne nor any other Mamaluk could attaine vnto that high dignitie, vnless first he had beene a Christian, and had abiured his faith, and had learned also exactly to speake the Circassian and Turkish languages. Insomuch that many Soldans sent their sonnes in their childhood into Circassia, that by learning the language and fashions of the countrey they might prooue in processe of time fit to beare soueraigne authoritie; but by the dissension of the Mamalukes they were alwaies defeated of their purpose. And thus much briefly concerning the gouernment of the Mamalukes, and of their Princes, called euen till this present by a word of their owne mother-toong by the

*The originall of the Mamaluks.*

names of Soldans: let vs now speake of the honourable degrees and dignities inferiour to the Soldanship.

### *Of the principall Peere next vnder the Soldan called Eddaguadare.*

THis man being in dignitie second vnto the *Soldan*, and beeing, as it were, his viceroy or lieutenant, had authoritie to place or displace any magistrates or officers; and maintained a family almost as great as the family of the *Soldan* himselfe.[72]

### *Of the Soldans officer called Amir Cabir.*

THis man hauing the third place of honour was Lord generall ouer the Soldans militari forces; who was by office bound to leauie armies against the forraine enemie, especially against the next Arabians, and to furnish the castles & cities with conuenient garisons; and also had authority to dispend the Soldans treasure vpon such necessarie affaires as hee thought good.[73]

### *Of Nai Bessan.*

THE fourth in dignitie after the Soldan called Nai Bessan, beeing the Soldan his lieutenant in Syria, and gathering vp all the tributes of Assiria bestowed them at his owne discretion, & yet the *Soldan* himselfe was to place garrisons in the castles and forts of those prouinces. This *Nai Bessan* was bound yeerly to pay certaine thousands of Saraffi vnto the *Soldan*.[74]

### *Of the Ostadar.*

THe fift magistrate called the *Ostadar*, was the great master or steward of the palace; whose duetie was to prouide apparell for the *Soldan*, with victuals and other necessaries for his whole family. And vnto this dignitie

the *Soldan* vsed to aduance some one of his most ancient, honourable, and vertuous nobles, vnder whose tuition himselfe had in times past beene trained up.[75]

### *Of the Amiri Achor.*

THE sixt called the *Amiri Achor*, was master of the horse and camels; and distributed them vnto each man in court, according to his degree.[76]

### *Of the Amiralf.*

THE seuenth office was performed by certaine principall Mamalukes, being like vnto the Colonels of Europe; euerie of whom was captaine of a thousand inferiour Mamaluks; and their office was to conduct the Soldans forces against the enemie, & to take charge of his armour.[77]

### *Of the Amirmia.*

THE eight degree of honour was allotted vnto certaine centurions ouer the Mamalukes; who were continually to attend vpon the *Soldan*, either when he road any whither, or when he exercised himselfe in armes.

### *Of the Chazendare.*

THE ninth person was the treasurer, who made an account vnto the *Soldan* of all tributes and customes of his kingdome, disbursing money for the daily and necessarie expenses of the Soldans household, and laying vp the rest in the Soldans castle.[79]

### *Of the Amirsileh.*

THE tenth called the *Amirsileh* had the armour of the *Soldan* committed to his charge, which being contained in a great armorie was to be scoured, furbushed, and renued at his discretion, for which purpose he had sundrie Mamaluks placed vnder him.[80]

## *Of the Testecana.*

THe eleuenth called the *Testecana*[81] was master of the *Soldans* wardrobe, and tooke charge of all such robes and apparell as were deliured vnto him by the *Ostadar* or high steward of the household; which robes he distributed according to the appointment of the *Soldan;* for whomsoeuer the *Soldan* promoted vnto any dignitie, him he apparelled also. All the said garments were of cloth of gold, of veluet, or of silke: and whither soeuer the Testecana went, he was attended upon by a great number of Mamalukes. Certaine other officers there were also: as namely the Serbedare,[82] whose duetie was to prouide delicate drinke for the *Soldan*, and to haue alwaies in a readines most excellent compound waters tempered both with sugar and with spices. Moreouer there were other officers called * Farrasin,[83] that is, diuers chamberlaines, who furnished the place of the Soldan with rich hangings and carpets, and made prouision also of torches and tapers of waxe mixed with amber, which serued both to shew light, and to yeeld most fragrant and odoriferous smels. Others there were also called Sebabathia,[84] to wit, the footemen of the Soldan: and certaine others called Taburchania,[85] which were the Soldans Halbardiers, who attended upon his person when he road foorth, or sate in publique audience. Adauia were those that tooke charge of the Soldans carriages whithersoeuer he trauelled: out of which number there was a master-hangman or executioner chosen; and so often as any malefactors were to be punished, all his companions stood by him to learne his bloodie occupation, namely of flaying and skinning men aliue, and of putting them to the torture, to make them confesse their crimes.[86] And Esuha were the Soldans foote-postes that carried letters from Cairo into Syria, and trauelled on foote threescore miles a day, because that

* *There is such an officer in the court of England called, The Maister of the Reuells.*

betweene Egypt and Syria there is neither mountainous nor mirie way, but a continuall sandie plaine: howbeit such as carried letters of serious & weightie matters road vpon camels.[87]

### *Of the Soldans militarie forces.*

OF soldiers or martiall men the Soldan had fower degrees. The first called Caschia were certaine horsemen, & were most valiant and expert warriours: out of which number the Soldan chose gouernours ouer his cities and castles. Some of these were allowed their stipend in readie money out of the Soldans treasurie, and others out of the tributes of townes and castles. The second called Eseifia were a companie of footmen, bearing no armes but swords only, who likewise had their pay allowed them out of the Soldans treasurie. The third called Charanisa being voluntaries or such as serued gratis, had no other pay but onely their victuals allowed them: but when any Mamaluke deceased that was well prouided for, some one of them supplied his roume. The fourth and last of al called Galeb, were the yoong and new-come Mamaluks, being as yet ignorant of the Turkish and Egyptian languages, and such as had shewed no experiment of their valour.[88]

## Of certaine other great officers and magistrates in the Soldans common-wealth.

### *Of the magistrate called the Nadheasse.*

HE was as it were the Soldans chiefe receiuer; for all the tributes and customes of the whole kingdome came through his hands, and were paid from him vnto the treasurer. Also he was customer of Cairo, by which office he gained infinite summes of mony: neither could any

man attaine vnto this office, vnlesse he first paid vnto the Soldan an hundred thousand Saraffi, which he recouered againe within sixe moneths following.[89]

### *Of the Chetebeessere.*

THis man being the Soldans secretarie, and writing letters, and making answere on the Soldans behalfe, did (besides his secretariship) take notice and account of all the land-tributes in Egypt, and receiued the particular summes from the collectors thereof.[90]

### *Of the Muachih.*

THis was a secretarie also, but inferiour to the former, and yet more trustie vnto the Soldan. His office was to reuiew the letters and briefes penned by the former, and to examine whether they were agreeable vnto the Soldans minde, and also in the name of the Soldan to subscribe vnto them. But the other hath so many cunning and expert scribes about him, that the Muachih seldome cancelleth any of his writings.[91]

### *Of the Mutesib.*

THis mans office was to set a price vpon corne and all other victuals; which price partly according to the increase of Nilus, and partly also according to the resort of ships and other vessels out of the prouinces of Errif and Sahid he either diminished or inhaunsed, and vpon the offenders imposed such penalties as the Soldan thought good to appoint. Being at Cairo, I vnderstood that the said Mutesib got daily by his office about a thousand Saraffi; hauing his ministers and substitutes not onely in Cairo, but in all other cities and places of Egypt.[92]

### *Of the Amir el Cheggi.*

THe office of the Amir el Cheggi[93] being of no lesse charge, then dignitie, was imposed by the Soldan vpon one of his most sufficient and wealthie Mamaluks: vnto whom was committed the conduct of the carouan, which went euery yeere from Cairo to Mecca. Which dutie he could not performe without great expences of his owne purse, for being guarded with a companie of Mamalukes, he must trauell with maiesticall pompe and costly diet, expecting no recompence for his exceeding charges either at the hands of the Soldan, or of the passengers which he conducted. Other offices and dignities there are, which I thinke needlesse to rehearse.

### *Of the citie of Geza.*

THe citie of Geza being situate vpon the banke of Nilus, ouer against the old citie before mentioned, and being separated therefrom by the foresaide Island of Nilus, is a very populus and ciuile place, and is adorned with many sumptuous palaces built by the Mamaluks, whither they vse to retire themselues out of the throng and multitude of Cairo. Here are likewise great store of artificers and merchants, especially such as buie cattell brought from the mountaines of Barca, the drouers of which cattell being Arabians, do sell their ware in this citie vnto the merchants and butchers of Cairo, to the end they may auoide the trouble of passing ouer the riuer. The temple and other principall buildings of this citie stand vpon the shore of Nilus. On all sides of the citie there are gardens and grounds of dates. Such as come hither in the morning from Cairo to buy and sell, vse not to returne home againe till the euening. This way they trauell ouer a sandie desert vnto the Pyramides, and sepulchers of the ancient Egyptian kings, in which place they affirme the stately citie of

*The pyramides.*

Memphis to haue stoode in times past. And albeit the way thither be very troublesome in regard of the manifold lakes and pits made by the inundation of Nilus, yet by the direction of a trustie and expert guide it may easily be trauailed.[94] *The citie of Memphis.*

*Of the towne of Muhallaca.*

THis little towne built vpon the banke of Nilus, by the ancient Egyptians, and standing three miles from the olde citie, hath a most beautifull temple situate vpon the shore of Nilus, and diuers other stately buildings therein. It aboundeth with dates and with certaine fruites called Egyptian figs; and the inhabitants vse the very same rites and customs that are obserued by the citizens of Cairo.[95] *Egyptian figs.*

*Of the citie of Chanca.*

THe great citie of Chanca[96] situate about sixe miles from Cairo, at the verie entrance of the desert lying in the way to mount Sinai, is replenished with most stately houses, temples, and colleges. All the fields betweene Cairo and this citie abound with great plentie of dates: but from Chanca to mount Sinai, which is an hundred and fortie miles, there are no places of habitation at all. The inhabitants are but of meane wealth: for when any caruan is to passe into Syria, hither resort a company of people from Cairo, to prouide things necessarie for their iourney, bicause the villages adioining yeeld nought but dates. Through this citie lie two maine roade-waies, the one leading to Syria, and the other to Arabia. This citie hath no other water but such as remaineth in certaine chanels after the inundation of Nilus; which chanels being broken, the water runneth foorth into the plaines, and there maketh a number of small lakes, from whence it is conueighed backe by certaine sluices into the cesterns of the citie.

### *Of the citie of Muhaisira.*

THis little citie built vpon the riuer of Nilus, 30. miles eastward of Cairo, aboundeth greatly with the graine or seed called Sesama, and containeth sundrie milles to grinde oile out of the same seede. The inhabitants are most of them husbandmen, except a fewe that exercise trade of merchandise.[97]

*Store of the graine called Sesama.*

### *Of the towne of Benisuaif.*

THis towne being situate on the west side of Nilus, is distant from Cairo 120. miles. The plaines adiacent abound exceedingly with flaxe and hempe, which is so excellent, that it is carried from thence as farre as Tunis in Barbarie. And this towne furnisheth all Egypt with flaxe, whereof they make very fine and strong cloth. The fields of the same are continually worne & diminished, and especially at this present, by the inundation of Nilus, for now their date-groundes are halfe consumed. The inhabitants for the most part are emploied about their flaxe. And beyond this towne there are found Crocodiles that will eate mans flesh, as we will declare in our historie of liuing creatures.[98]

*Most excellent hempe.*

*Crocodiles.*

### *Of the citie of Munia.*

VPon the same side of Nilus standeth the faire citie of Munia, which was built in the time of the Mahumetans by one *Chasib* a lieutenant and courtier of the Califa of Bagdet, vpon an high place. Here are most excellent grapes, and abundance of all kinde of fruite, which albeit they are carried to Cairo, yet can they not come thither fresh and newe, by reason that this citie is distant from Cairo an hundred and fower-score miles. It is adorned with most stately temples and other buildings: and here are to be seene at this present sundry ruines of the ancient

Egyptian buildings. The inhabitants are rich, for they trauaile for their gaine as farre as Gaoga, a kingdome of the land of Negros.[99]

### *Of the citie of El Fium.*

THis ancient citie was founded by one of the *Pharaos* vpon a little branch of Nilus, and on a high ground, at the same time when the Israelites departed out of Egypt, whom the said *Pharao* greatly oppressed with making of bricke, and with other seruile occupations. In this citie they say that *Ioseph* the sonne of *Iacob* was buried, and that his bones were digged vp by *Moses* and the Israelites when they departed. Fruits heere grow great plentie, and especially oliues, which are good to eate, but vnprofitable to make oile of. It is a well gouerned and populous citie, and containeth many artificers especially weauers.[100]

*The place where Ioseph was buried.*

### *Of the citie of Mans Loth.*

THis great and ancient citie was built by the Egyptians, destroied by the Romains, and reedified by the Mahumetans, but not in so stately manner as it was first built. At this present there are found certaine huge and high pillers and porches, whereon are verses engrauen in the Egyptian toong. Neere vnto Nilus stand the ruines of a stately building, which seemeth to haue beene a temple in times past, among which ruines the citizens finde sometimes coine of siluer, sometimes of gold, and sometimes of lead, hauing on the one side hieiygraphick notes, and on the other side the pictures of ancient kings. The fields adiacent being very fruitefull, are extremely scorched by the heate of the sunne, and much haunted with Crocodiles, which was the occasion (as some thinke) why the Romaines abandoned this citie. The inhabitants are men of indifferent wealth, for they exercise traffike in the land of Negros.[101]

### *Of the citie of Azioth.*

THis ancient city founded by the Egyptians vpon the banke of Nilus two hundred and fiftie miles from Cairo, is most admirable in regard to the hugenes, and of the varietie of old buildings and of epitaphes engrauen in Egyptian letters; although at this present the greatest part thereof lyeth desolate. When the Mahumetans were first Lords of this city it was inhabited by honorable personages, and continueth as yet famous in regard of the nobilitie and great wealth of the citizens. There are in this citie almost an hundred families of christians, & three or fower churches still remaining: and without the citie standeth a monasterie containing mo then an hundred monks, who eate neither flesh nor fish, but onely herbes, bread, and oliues. And yet haue they daintie cates without any fatte among them. This monasterie is very rich, and giueth three daies entertainment to all strangers that resort thither, for the welcomming of whom they bring vp great store of doues, of chickens, and of such like commodities.[102]

### *Of the citie of Ichmin.*

ICHmin being the most ancient city in all Egypt, was built by *Ichmin* the son of **Misraim*, the sonne of *Chus*, which was the son of **Hen*, vpon the banke of Nilus next vnto Asia, and three hundred miles eastwarde from Cairo. This citie the Mahumetans, when they first began to vsurpe ouer Egypt, so wasted and destroied, for certaine causes mentioned in histories, that besides the foundations and rubbish they left nought remaining: for, transporting the pillers and principall stones vnto the other side of Nilus, they built thereof the citie called Munsia, euen as we will now declare.[103]

* *It is otherwise read in the* x. *chap. of Genesis, verse* 6.
* *Dubium.*

*Of the citie of Munsia.*

MVnsia therefore, founded on the other side of Nilus, by the lieutenant of a certaine Califa, hath no shew of comelines or beautie, by reason that all the streetes are so narrow. And in sommer-time there riseth so much dust from the ground, that a man can hardly walke the streetes. It aboundeth, notwithstanding, with corne and cattell. It was once subiect vnto a certaine African prince of Barbarie, whose name was *Haoara*, and whose predecessors were princes and gouernours of Haoara. Which city (they say) was giuen him in regarde of a singular benefite which hee did vnto the foresaide Dalmatian slaue that founded Cairo: howbeit I cannot be perswaded that the gouernment remained so long a time vnto that familie. But in our time *Soliman* the ninth Turkish emperour depriued them of the same gouernment.[104]

*Of the monasterie called Georgia.*

THis was in times past a famous monasterie of Christians, called after the name of Saint George, and being sixe miles distant from Munsia. It was inhabited by more than two hundred monkes, who enioying large territories, possessions, and reuenues, shewed themselues curteous and beneficiall vnto strangers; and the ouerplus of their yeerely reuenues was sent vnto the patriarke of Cairo, who caused the same to be distributed amongst poore Christians: but about an hundred yeeres ago, all the monks of this monasterie died of a pestilence, which spred it selfe ouer all the land of Egypt. Whereupon the prince of Munsia compassed the saide monasterie with a wall, and erected diuers houses for artificers and merchants to dwell in. And being allured by the pleasant gardens situate amidst the beautifull hils, he himselfe went thither to

inhabite: but the patriarke of the Iacobites making his mone vnto the Soldan, the Soldan caused another monasterie to be built in the same place, where in times past the old citie stoode; & assigned so much allowance thereunto, as might maintaine thirty monks.[105]

### *Of the citie of Chian.*

THis little citie of Chian was built in times past neere unto Nilus by the Mahumetans, which notwithstanding is not nowe inhabited by them, but by the christiãs called Iacobites, who employ themselues either in husbandrie, or in bringing vp of chickens, geese, and doues. There remaine as yet certaine monasteries of Christians, that giue entertainment to strangers. But Mahumetans (besides the gouernour and his family) there are none at all.[106]

### *Of the citie of Barbanda.*

BArbanda founded by the Egyptians vpon Nilus, about fower hundred miles from Cairo, was laide so waste by the Romaines, that nothing but the ruines thereof remained, most of which ruines were carried vnto Asna, whereof we will foorthwith intreate. Amongst the saide ruines are to be found many peeces of golde and siluer coine, and sundrie fragments of Smaragds or emeralds.[107]

*Emralds.*

### *Of the citie of Cana.*

*Antonio Galuano maketh large mention of this citie.*

THe ancient citie of Cana built by the Egyptians vpon the banke of Nilus ouer against Barbanda, and enuironed with wals of sunne-dried bricks, is inhabited with people of base condition, applying themselues vnto husbandrie, by which meanes the citie aboundeth with corne. Hither are the merchandise brought against the streame of Nilus, which are sent from Cairo to Mecca: for the distance from hence ouer the wildernes vnto the

Red sea, is at least 120. miles, all which way there is no water at all to be founde. And at the hauen of Chossir vpon the shore of the red sea are diuers cottages whereinto the saide merchandises are vnladen. And ouer against Chossir on the side of Asia lieth Iambuh another hauen of the red sea, whereat traualiers going on pilgrimage to see the tombe of Mahumet at Medina, must make their rendezuous or generall meeting. Moreouer Chana furnisheth Medina and Mecca with corne, in which places they suffer great and continuall scarcitie.[108] *The hauen of Chossir.*

*Of the citie of Asna.*

ASna in times past was called Siene: which name was afterward changed by the Arabians, in whose language the worde Siene signifieth a filthie or vncleane thing. Wherefore they called it Asna, that is to say, faire and beautifull, bicause it standeth in a pleasant situation vpon the westerne banke of Nilus: which citie though it was brought almost to desolation by the Romaines, yet was it so repaired againe in the Mahumetans time, that the inhabitants grewe exceeding rich, both in corne, cattell, and money: for they transport their commodities partly vp the streame of Nilus, and partly ouer the deserts, into the kingdome of Nubia. Round about this citie there are to be seene diuers huge buildings, and admirable sepulchres, togither with sundrie epitaphes engrauen both in Egyptian and Latine Letters.[109]

*Of the citie of Assuan.*

THe great, ancient, and populous city of Assuan was built by the Egyptians vpon the riuer of Nilus, about fower-score miles eastward from Asna. The soile adiacent is most apt and fruitefull for corne. And the citizens are exceedingly addicted vnto the trade of merchandise, bicause they dwell so neere vnto the kingdome

of Nubia, vpon the confines whereof standeth their citie: beyond which citie Nilus dispersing himselfe ouer the plaines through many small lakes becommeth innauigable. Also the saide citie standeth neere vnto that desert ouer which they traueil vnto the port of Suachen vpon the red sea, and it adioineth likewise vpon the frontiers of Ethiopia. And heere in sommer time the inhabitants are extremely scorched with the heate of the sunne, being of a swart or browne colour, and being mingled with the people of Nubia and Ethiopia. Heere are to be seene also many buildings of the ancient Egyptians, and most high towers, which they call in the language of that countrey Barba. Beyond this place there is neither citie nor habitation of any account, besides a fewe villages of blacke people, whose speech is compounded of the Arabian, Egyptian, and Ethiopian languages. These being subject vnto the people called *Bugiha, liue in the fields after the Arabian manner, being free from the Soldans iurisdiction, for there his dominions are limited.

*Suachen.*

** Bugiha are those which in olde time were called Troglodytæ.*

And thus much concerning the principall cities standing along the maine chanel of Nilus: Some whereof I saw, others I entered into, and passed by the residue: but I had most certaine intelligence of them all, either by the inhabitants themselues, or by the mariners which carried me by water from Cairo to Assuan, with whom returning back vnto Chana, I trauelled thence ouer the desert vnto the red sea, ouer which sea I crossed vnto Imbuth, and Ziddem two hauen-townes of Arabia deserta, of which two townes, because they belong vnto Asia, I will not here discourse, least I should seem to transgresse the limits of Africa. But if it shall please god to vouchsafe me longer life, I purpose to describe all the regions of Asia which I haue trauelled; to wit Arabia deserta, Arabia felix, Arabia Petrea, the Asian part of Egypt, Armenia, and some part of Tartaria; all which countries I saw and passed through

*The great trauels of Iohn Leo.*

in the time of my youth. Likewise I will set downe my last voiages from Fez to Constantinople, from Constantinople to Egypt, and from thence into Italie, in which Iourney I saw diuers and sundry Islands. All which my trauels I meane (by Gods assistance) being returned forth of Europe into mine owne countrie, particularly to describe; decyphering first the regions of Europe and Asia which I haue seen, and thereunto annexing this my discourse of Africa; to the end that I may promote the endeuours of such as are desirous to know the state of forren countries.[110]

# NOTES TO BOOK VIII.

(1) This lake is Menzaleh, and Tenesse, or Tennes (the ancient Tenessus), an island on which are remains of Roman baths, tombs, etc. The wildfowl on the lake and in its vicinity are still as numerous as ever, and the habits of the people are to-day much what they were at the time when Leo visited them. The "dulipan" (dolopani) is equivalent to the turban, and the "chebie" of Leo is evidently the "jubba".

(2) Modern Egypt is commonly divided into El-Bahari, or Lower Egypt; El-Vortani, or Middle Egypt; and El-Saïd, or Upper Egypt. In Ibn Haukal's day, the part of Egypt below Old Cairo (El-Fostât)—north-east of the Nile—was called "Hauf" and that to the south (properly west) Rif (Er-Rif, the "riviera", a word more familiar as applied to the Moroccan region of the same name, p. 635).—Abu-l-feda, *Géographie* (ed. Reinaud), t. ii, p. 141. In Ouseley's trans. of Ibn Haukal (pp. 36, 37), *Khouf* and *Zeif* are (erroneously, according to De Sacy) the orthography of these districts.—Abd Allatif, *Relation de l'Egypte* (ed. De Sacy), pp. 56, 396-398. The divisions mentioned by Leo are still known among the natives. Bechria is Behriyya, the Lake Region.

(3) In Hebrew Egypt is Misraim, or Mazor, which in the Prophets means Lower Egypt proper, as distinguished from Pathros, or Upper Egypt. Mazor is preserved in the Arab Misr, pronounced Mazr in the vulgar dialect of Egypt, Mázar in that of Morocco and other parts of Barbary. It is now applied to both the country and the capital.

(4) "Amr figliuolo di Asi, capitano d'un escercito arabo di Omar secondo pontefice"—'Amr Ibn el-Âsi—A.H. 18, A.D. 639.

(5) El-Fostât (*ut supra*), founded in A.H. 21 (A.D. 641), the seat of government till A.D. 754. The mosque of 'Amr is well known as one of the few memorials of the past now standing amid the ruins of "Old Cairo".

(6) The numerous places in Egypt with which the name of Joseph (Yusuf) is linked have most probably no connection whatever with the Hebrew patriarch of that name, but, like the Canal, Well, Hall, etc., "of Joseph", refer to En-Nâser Salâh ed-Dîn Yûsuf Ibn Ayyûb (Saladin), the famous Kurdish conqueror. Even then the connection is often purely honorary.

(7) At one time the plague appeared at regular intervals of six, eight, and ten years. But it is now more than sixty years since there has been an outbreak, mainly owing to stricter care regarding the landing of goods and infected persons from Asia and other quarters, including Barbary and the Hejâz, where, if not endemic, it has appeared more than once this century. Even in the age of the Pharaohs, the plague was an Egyptian disease. Cholera is more dreaded nowadays.—Ray, *Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages*, tome ii, p. 95; Savary, *Letters on Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 218-233; Abd Allatif, *Relation de l'Egypte*, pp. 4, 9; Desgenettes, *Relation chirurgicale de l'armée d'Orient*, p. 409, etc.; *Mémoires sur l'Egypte*, t. iv, p. 238, *et seq.*; Zagrel, *Du Climat de l'Egypte*; Pruner, *Topographie Médicale du Caire*; Patterson, *Egypt as a Health Resort* (1867); Dalrymple, *Medical and Meteorological Observations on the Climate of Egypt* (1860); Clot-Bey, *Aperçu Général sur l'Egypte*; *De la Peste*, etc.; *Description de l'Egypte*, t. xiii.

(8) The ancient Busiris in the Delta, the modern Abusir, a name also applied to Busiris, the supposed Nilopolis, and to a village near the Gizeh Pyramids. Lake Bucaira is the modern Mareotis, or Mariut.

(9) This, as pointed out more than two centuries ago by Ogleby (*Africa*, p. 55), is an error of Leo's; for Alexandria, instead of being distant from the Nile "verso ponente quaranta miglai", is only twelve miles from the Canopic mouth, and about twice as far from the Rosetta or Bolbitine mouth of the river.

(10) Who this "astuto pontefice maumettano" was, is not mentioned by any other authority. The Khalif Othman demolished the fortifications, and in the ninth century Ahmed Ibn Tûlûn pulled down the old walls and erected others more suited to the diminished size of "Iskandriyya". The discovery in 1497 of the route to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope, brought about the temporary ruin of Alexandria, as it did of so many other famous Mediterranean seaports. This was also aided by the conquest of Egypt by the Turks, so that the city, which was still a place of some actual importance, became so utterly insignificant that, when Savary visited it in 1777, he found it a town of ruins "of small extent and six thousand inhabitants", instead of the 300,000 free inhabitants and 600,000 slaves it contained in the time of Augustus. But Savary did not see the place at its worst: for when in 1692 M. de Maillet, French Consul at Cairo, landed here, a city with inhabitants scarcely existed—"Je ne crois pas qu'à bien compter les Chrétiens, les Turcs, and les Arabes qui habitent encore cette Alexandrie prétendue, on trouvât une centaine d'hommes parmi les ruines qu'elle renferme." The place was a desert, in which robbers plied their trade

almost with impunity (*Description de l'Egypte*, etc., ed. by L'Abbé Le Mascrier (1740), t. i, p. 186). The Sieur Cæsar Lambert, who visited it some sixty years earlier, though he does not allude to it in such unflattering terms, evidently did not find it much more flourishing (*Trois Relations d'Egypte*, etc., p. 44). It is therefore clear that if Alexandria deserved Leo's description, it had not then begun to feel the withering effects of Turkish misrule. Indeed, when Leo first saw it, the Mamluks were still reigning, and what he has to say regarding Alexandria and other parts of Egypt applies almost exclusively to the period of these comparatively enlightened sovereigns. It was Mohammed Ali who restored the commercial prosperity of Alexandria, which now has a population of over 200,000.

(11) The Mersa el-Bargi—the Eastern or Great Harbour—called the New Port, is now only frequented by small native vessels. But until the evacuation of Alexandria by the English, when the privilege of using the Mersa Essil Sela, the western harbour, now called the Old Port, was (in common with that of riding on horseback) granted to all Europeans, the Mersa el-Bargi was allotted to "Christian" ships, which were only admitted, under stress of weather, into the exclusive haven.

(12) "Ludovico quarto rè di Francia" is a mistake. It should be Louis IV (Saint Louis), who in 1249, at the head of the Eighth Crusade, captured Damietta, but was taken prisoner at Mansura by the Sultan Melek es-Sâleh, of the Ayyûbite dynasty, and released on the restitution of Damietta and the payment of a million bezants of gold (about £380,000).—Savary, *Letters on Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 337-384, etc. The transaction was, however, effected during the brief reign of Melek el-Mo'azzam (Tûrân Shah), Melek es-Sâleh having died on the 21st November, while the French army did not appear—according to Makrizi, Joinville, and other authorities—before Mansura until the 19th December 1249. But the ransom of St. Louis was the work of that sultan's mother, Sheger ed-Durr, who, after instigating the murder of her predecessor, reigned for three months and married the Mamluk El-Moi'zz, who in 1250 founded the Bahrî Mamluk dynasty, and was murdered in 1257 by his jealous spouse (Makrizi, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Egypte*, ed. Quatremère, t. i, pp. 71-73). As St. Louis made on behalf of the Christian powers a truce with Islam for ten years, the raid of the Cyprians, Venetians, and French must have been much later than the words of Leo seem to indicate; unless it was that the treaty was indifferently adhered to. The "Soldan" referred to is probably Ez-Zâher Baybers I (A.D. 1260), who fortified Alexandria.

(13) The place which Leo takes to be the Roman Monte Testaccio

is apparently that which used to be known as the Pharillon, near the entrance to the New Harbour. It was evidently the work of the Mohammedan kings, who were unable to re-erect the ancient Pharos. The modern lighthouse has long ago superseded it. (De Maillet, *Description de l'Egypte*, 1740, t. i, p. 164.)

(14) "Pompey's Pillar." The cisterns under the houses to which Leo refers are among the few remnants of ancient Alexandria still existing. They are used for storing the water supply furnished by the Canopic Canal.

(15) Copts (Kubti, Gubti), called Jacobites, not, as they pretend, from James the Apostle, but more likely from Jacobus Baradæus, the Syrian heresiarch, who propagated the tenets of the Monophysites, Eutychians, or Monothelites, condemned by the fourth Œcumenical Council of Chalcedon. They claim their conversion from paganism to have been the work of St. Mark, and still pretend to have the body of that Apostle in the Coptic convent at Alexandria, though, as stated by Leo, Dáru, and other historians, it was removed by the Venetians about A.D. 828. The inscriptions on the mosaics of St. Mark at Venice admit that the relics were stolen by Rustico of Torcello and Buono of Malanacco, assisted by the monk Staurgius and the priest Theodorus, who were in charge of the sanctuary at Alexandria. (Gardner Wilkinson, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. vii, p. 258.) The Greeks of Alexandria pretend, on the other hand, that their convent of St. Saba contains the original church of St. Mark.

(16) The traditional tomb of Alexander, fabled to exist at various other places, was thought to have been found by Mr. Stoddart amidst the mounds of the old city. This building looks like an ordinary sheikh's tomb, and is near the bath to the west of the road leading from the Frank Quarter to the Pompey's Pillar Gate. Its position, however, does not agree with Strabo's description of the "Sôma", while the sarcophagus, regarded by the Alexandrians as the tomb of "Iskander", is now in the British Museum. But the hieroglyphics on it prove that it belonged to one of the Pharaohs. In Murray's usually very accurate *Guide Book*, p. 130, the quotation from Leo is inaccurate. There is nothing about the small edifice "standing in the midst of the mounds of Alexandria". Nor are Pory and Florian any more correct in referring to the "monument of Alexandria" (in medio Alexandriæ ruderum). All that Leo says is that the "piccola casa a modo di chiesetta" was "nel mezzo della città."

(17) "Bochin" is a misprint for "Bocchir" of the Italian original. This is again a corruption of Abukir, off which the naval battle of that name was fought on the 1st of August 1798. Savary calls it

"Alboukir", and mentions that "the place is called Bekier by Mariners". Leo seems to have considered it an ancient city. Most likely it is identical with Canopus, the village of Aboukir a little to the west of it being a modern town, built in part out of the ruins. A small place now, it seems to have been much smaller four centuries ago.—See "Map of Ancient Egypt", iii, *Egyptian Exploration Fund's Atlas* (1894).

(18) Rosetta, the Arabic Rashîd, which is simply a corruption of the former. Who built it, is not known. El-Macin mentions that it was founded during the reign of El-Motawakkil 'ala 'llah (Ja'far) about A.D. 870. It did not, as Maillet and Alpinus imagine, replace Canopus, and therefore is of comparatively recent date, though it possibly occupies the site of Bolbitinum. Rosetta was founded on account of the silting-up of the Bolbitine branch of the Nile, and for many ages flourished exceedingly. In Leo's day it had not attained the zenith of its prosperity. All the overland trade of India passed through it; while the coolness of the umbrageous gardens which surround it, and the salubrity of the air, attracted thither the residents of Cairo during the hot season. In Abu-l-feda's day it was "a small city", and when Belon visited it in 1530 the place was not half the si of Fua. But, by the close of last century, it was one-half larger than that town. Its population, now about 14,000, must then have exceeded 25,000. Even then the "bogaz" or bar of the branch of the Nile on which it is built, was very troublesome, and for two months in the year totally prevented the commerce of Alexandria entering the river. The Nile Delta, which is constantly increasing and altering without the government making any efforts to survey the mud banks or to provide against the shoaling, told year after year against the trade of Rosetta. Then the cutting of the Mahmudiyya canal by Mehemet Ali diverted the overland trade, and now Ramleh is the favourite summer resort of the Alexandrians and Cairenes. The mosques, propped up by red Corinthian columns from Canopus, like those which form the corner-stones of many private buildings, have not escaped the general decay which has overtaken this once flourishing town. It was here that a British force under General Fraser was defeated by Mehemet Ali in 1807. It was occupied by the French in 1798—a strategic operation, one of the most important results of which was the accidental discovery of the famous trilingual "Rosetta stone"; and the Briton to whom the memories of Rosetta are not entirely pleasant, may feel a patriotic compensation by remembering that it was from the old fort on a sand-hill behind the fig-shaded mosque, that Denou, one of the *savants* who came with Napoleon to Egypt, saw the destruction of the French fleet by Nelson in Abukir Bay.

(19) This fixes Leo's visit to have been about A.D. 1517, the date of the conquest of Egypt by Selim I, the Great—or, as he is better known in history, "Yawuz Selim"—Selim the Grim.

(20) There is no place in Egypt called "Antius", and it is difficult, from the data supplied, to determine what town Leo meant. Marmol—who is, however, no authority—says that it was formerly called Antedon, a place mentioned by Ptolemy. Antinoë, or Antinoöpolis, has been suggested mainly from a slight similarity of the name. But, as Leo is describing the Delta, the place he notes as a busy town must be sought for there, and not in the modern village of Sheikh Abadeh in Middle Egypt, among the palm groves of which some ancient remains lie scattered. Arsinoë is still less acceptable: for it was in the Fayum and not on the Nile. The only conclusion permissible is that Anthius is some place on the Delta, of which either Leo or his first editor mistook the name.

Busir may, however, be a Busiris—most likely the one on the Gizeh Plateau.—Edrisi, *Africa*, ed. Hartmann, p. 506, ed. Dozy et de Goeje, p. 53; Golius, *Mohammedis filii Ketiri Ferganenis, qui vulgo Alfraganus dicitur, Elementa Astronomica Arabice et Latine* (1699), p. 104; Abu-l-feda, ed. Reinaud, p. 157; Savary, *Letters on Egypt*, vol. i, p. 454; Bruns., *Allgemeine Geog. Ephemeriden* (April, 1801), p. 317, where Antinoë is suggested as identical with Anthius.

(21) Probably Berimbal el-Kebir, not a city, but only a large village on the Menzaleh Canal. This identification has the imprimatur of Karsten Niebuhr. Most of the rice of the Lower Delta is now shipped from Damietta, an important town, which, curiously enough, is not described by Leo, though mentioned by him.

(22) Memphis is mistaken by Leo for Thebes, the form "Thebe" being adopted from Pliny and Juvenal. This error is, in kind if not in degree, made by many writers subsequent to Leo's time (Savary, *Letters*, vol. i, pp. 257, 258, 388, 392). If Herodotus is even approximately correct—and the appearance of the vicinity is in favour of the story told to him by the priests—Memphis must be as old as Menes—*i.e.*, according to Mariette, 5004 B.C. Its ruins are, at all events, of immense antiquity.

(23) ". . . . trecento fuochi; ma è ornata di belle case." These "three hundred hearths" must have been at the village of Sakkarah, whose houses, however, it is impossible to describe as "belle case". Most probably, much was standing four centuries ago which has now disappeared or been covered with Nile mud. Abd Allatif, writing at the end of the twelfth century, describes the ruins as extensive and marvellous; and Abu-l-feda, 150 years later, speaks of

Memphis (Menf), which he believes to be the ancient Misr, as still very considerable.

(24) Muse, Mauz—*Musa*, plantains, bananas.—Sonnini, *Voyage dans la haute et basse Egypte*, t. ii, p. 1, etc.; Sionite, *De nonnullis Orient. urbibus*, in *Géog. Nub.*, p. 32; Abd Allatif, *Relation de l'Egypte*, pp. 20, 86, 104, etc.

(25) Fua, Fooah, occupying the site of the ancient Metellis. It is now a poor place. Leo's account of its prosperity four centuries ago is confirmed by Belon, who in the sixteenth century described it as second only to Cairo. The Venetians kept a Consul here, and merchandise was brought thither up the now no longer navigable Alexandrian Canal. The foundation and prosperity of Rosetta were, however, the first blows to the place, which now contains only large ruinous buildings and squares full of rubbish. In the reign of Menelek Adel (A.D. 1200), brother of Saladin, the Crusaders, after plundering the town of much booty, burnt it. Possibly it was affected by the hereditary licentiousness of the neighbouring Canopus, which was transmitted from the Egyptians to its later possessors (Savary, *Letters*, etc., vol. i, pp. 44, 45, 69). The belief that less than five centuries ago Fua (now nearly eight miles above it) was at the mouth of the Canopic branch of the Nile is not confirmed by Leo, though the increase of the Delta renders this very probable. Modern Damietta is also supposed to have been a seaport in A.D. 1428 (Shaw, *Travels*, ed. 1757; Maillet, *Description*, p. 26; Abd Allatif, pp. 2, 8). In reality, this town was razed in A.D. 1251, as Abu-l-feda and Makrizi tell us, by Melik El-Mo'izz Aybek, on a report that the French again threatened Egypt, and the present town erected about four miles further from the sea. Traces of the old city—a mosque, etc.—can still be seen at the village of Esba.

The two towns are confounded by many writers, including Alpinus, Pococke, Karsten, Niebuhr, Maillet, Shaw, and others.—Savary, *Letters*, vol. i, pp. 308-311.

(26) Geziret ed-Debub.

(27) Mehella. There are several places of that name in the Delta—Mehallet Malik, Mehallet el-Eben, Mehallet Damaneh, Mehallet Rokh, Mehallet El-Kebir, etc. The latter was the capital of the lower, or Garbia, province of the Delta. It is described by Abu-l-feda (ed. Reinaud, t. ii, p. 160), and was still in Savary's day noted for its cloth and sal ammoniac manufactures. This is probably the place meant by Leo, though "the author of *Moshtarek*", quoted by Abu-l-feda, declares that in his day there were "about a hundred" villages in Egypt called by the name of Mehella (place, town, quarter).

(28) Darut is now a pleasant-looking but insignificant village, from which sugar-making has long disappeared.

(29) There is a Mehallet-Sa (the town of Sa) on the other side of the Nile from the site of the ancient city of Saïss, which still bears the name of Sa el-Hagar (Sa of the stone). This is apparently Leo's "Mechillat Cais".—Quatremère, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Egypte*, t. i, p. 292; Hartmann, *Africa Edrisii*, pp. 498, 499. See also for a good account of Saïss, Murray's *Guide Book*, p. 147.

(30) Masr el-Kâhira, named from the planet Mars (Kahir) having been in the ascendant on the night that Gauhar el-Kaïd laid the foundation. The city was originally named El-Mansûriyya (the Victorious), but was changed to El-Kâhira by the Khalif El-Mo'izz on account of the omen mentioned. Mrs. Lane's *Englishwoman in Egypt*, vol. i, p. 124, *et seq.*, gives details (partly from Mr. Lane's notes) of the history of Cairo and other Egyptian capitals under the Moslems. Leo's etymology—"El Chahera, che tanto dinota quanto *coatrice*"—is altogether incorrect.

(31) Now nearer 400,000—or about ten times the population at the beginning of the sixteenth century.—See Lane-Poole's *Cairo* (1893); Makrizi's *Khitat*, etc. (Bulak, 1854).

(32) Jâma el-Azhar, converted into the Moslem "University" of that name by the Khalif el-Azîz. The number of students under he Sheikh el-Azhar sometimes amounts to 12,000—a popularity which has reduced Fez to insignificance.

(33) Jebel Mokattam.

(34) Bab en-Nasr (Gate of Help to Triumph).

(35) Bab es-Zuweylah, now really in the heart of the city, owing to its spread towards the south.

(36) Jâma el-Hakem, completed by El-Hâkem El-Mansûr, third Fatemite Khalif (A.D. 996).

(37) Beyn el-Kasreyn—"Between the Palaces," that is, the Great and Little Palaces, which were originally, and until El-Fostât was burnt, the only buildings within the walls of Gauhar's Cairo.

(38) Jâma el-Ghoriya, built by the Sultan El-Ashraf Kânsûh el-Ghori about 1501.

(39) Balabac in the original Italian, Bahlabah in Temporal's translation, Balabach in Florianus' Latin and Leer's Dutch translation. It is Baalbec in Syria.

(40) Muslin, from Mosul (after which it is named), on the opposite bank of the Tigris from the ruins of Nineveh.

(41) "Panni d'Italia, come sono rasi damaschenis vellute, tafetta, brocati e altri."

(42) Khan Khalili, built by Gokarkis el-Khalili in A.D. 1292, still a sort of "auction mart".

(43) The Sok el-'Attârîn, at the end of the Hamzowi, near "the Burse", is at present the principal place for the sale of spices, perfumes, and drugs.

(44) The Sok es-Saigh and the Gohariyya, in the near vicinity are the jewellers' bazaars. The booksellers, bookbinders, paper-dealers and others, may be found by the El-Azhar mosque, just as the same class of shops crowd the vicinity of university buildings all the world over.

(45) ". . . . un grande spedale, il quale fu edificato da Piperis primo soldano de Mammalucchi." There is a mistake here. The first Mamluk Sultan was Melik Mo'izz Aybek, the consort of Sheger ed-Durr, who, however, caused him to be proclaimed Sultan El-Mansur. ["Piperis" may possibly be a corruption of Beybars, the name of the fourth ruler of this line.—E. D. R.]

(46) Jâma es-Sultan Hasan. The literary class have always strenuously opposed any innovation. Hence the difficulty in introducing any change in the curriculum of the college. Dor Bey, *L'Instruction publique en Egypte.* The "Soldan's Castle" (citadel) is immediately above the mosque of Hasan.

(47) Ahmed Ibn Tûlûn (A.D. 868) was founder of the Tûlûnide dynasty. He built the mosque known by his name (Jâma Ibn-Tûlûn) in A.D. 879 (A.H. 265).

(48) Bab el-Luk.

(49) Esbekiyya is now one of the most fashionable quarters in Cairo. Up to 1867 it was a low haunt, practically flooded during "high Niles". The Jâma Ezbek is named after the Emir Ezbek el-Yûsufi, a notable of El-Ashraf Gânbalât (A.D. 1500).

(50) The beauty and vigour of the Egyptian donkeys have won the admiration of all visitors, and are celebrated by the older writers of the country. Sonnini, *Voyage*, t. ii, p. 353; Alpinus, *Hist. Nat. Egypt.*, part i, pp. 121-122; Maillet, *Descript. de l'Egypt*, t. ii, p. 124. In Abd Allatif's day, a donkey fit for a wealthy Jew or Christian to ride—infidels not being, until comparatively lately, permitted the distinction of mounting a horse—brought from seventy to forty pieces of gold (*Relation*, etc., p. 150). Nâsir-i-Khusrau affirms that in his time (eleventh century) 50,000 donkeys, richly caparisoned, stood for hire in Cairo. "Banks his curtall," mentioned by Pory in a note, refers to the trick horse "Marocco", exhibited in 1595 and subsequent years, by

a Scotchman named Banks. Shakespeare alludes to it in *Love's Labour's Lost*, where Moth, wishing to show how simple is a certain arithmetical problem, says, "The dancing horse will tell." Notes by Halliwell to his edition of Shakespeare ; Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland* (April, 1596) ; *Moroccas Ex-staticas : or Bankes Bay Horse in a Trance* (1595) ; Douce, *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, vol. i, p. 214, etc. The "Kureydâtî" still amuse the humbler order of Cairenes with performances such as those described ; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 99.

(51) This divination by birds is identical with that practised of late years in the streets of London and other towns, but was long familiar to the Italians, who may have introduced it from Egypt, or *vice versâ*. Street fencing, etc., was almost a frequent sight in the lower quarters of Cairo.

(52) Bulak, the port of Cairo, best known to strangers as the home of the famous Museum of Egyptian Antiquities.

(53) Bab el-Karafeh, near the tombs of the Mamluks, and of the Imâm Shâfî at the base of Jebel Mokattam.

(54) El-Fostât gives its name to "fustian", just as Mosul does to muslin, Damietta to dimity, etc.

(55) The Mosque of Amr (p. 906).

(56) Nefîsa ("the precious one") was the great-granddaughter of the Imâm el-Hasan. Her father, the Governor of Medina, was imprisoned by El-Mansur, and restored to power by Al-Mahdi. She was married to a son of the Imâm Ja'far es-Sâdik, and after living the life described by Leo, died in Old Cairo A.H. 218 (A.D. 824). Her mosque and mausoleum (formerly her house), is still much reverenced as a "Karâmat", or miracle-working shrine, though no longer the attraction it was in Leo's day. It stands—or stood—in the Darb as-Sabua, which formerly divided Old and New Cairo, and is now a suburb of the latter.

Makrizi, Arabic MS. in *Bibl. Nat.*, No. 682, fol. 335, 360, *vide* De Sacy's ed. Abd Allatif (pp. 428, 430) more than once refers to the Mosque of Sitta Nefîsa in Cairo.

(57) Not the so-called "Tombs of the Khalifs" or "El-Kâît Bey", but the almost equally ruined "Tombs of the Mamluks" south of Cairo.

(58) Suez. These landmarks do not now exist.

(59) Matariyya, a village near Heliopolis, once celebrated for its balsam (*Balsamodendron gileadensis* and *B. opobalsamum*), brought,

according to current legend, from Judæa to this spot by Cleopatra, in spite of the opposition of Herod. But Josephus tells us that the ground on which the Balsam of Gilead grew, near Jericho and in Arabia, belonged to Cleopatra, and was farmed for her by Herod. At all events, the balsam was taken from Matariyya (where it does not now grow) and cultivated, in the vicinity of Mecca, whence it is exported under the name of Mecca balsam. But the resin is obtained from a variety of Terebinthaceæ. All the older writers refer to it. Abd Allatif (*Relation de l'Égypte*, pp. 20-22) describes its growth at Matariyya. So do Alpinus (*Hist. Nat. Egypt.*, part i, chap. 14, p. 26, *et seq.*), Vesleng (*Ibid.*, pp. 174, 227, etc.), Belon (*lib. cit.*, liv, ii, ch. 39, p. 246, *et seq.*), Linnæus (*Amœnitates Academicæ*, vol. vii, p. 55, *et seq.*), Sionite (*De nonnullis Oriental. urbibus, Geog. Nubiensis*, p. 27), Pellegrino Brocardi (*Dissertazione intorno ad alcuni viaggiatori eruditi Verez. da D. J. Morelli*), and a host of other writers less apocryphal than the compiler of the travels which pass under the name of Sir John de Mandeville, who affects to have visited Egypt in the reign of Melec Mandebron [Al-Melik al-Mozaffer Baybers], about the year 1335. Suyûti and Kazwîni, two Arabic writers, whose MS. works in the National Library of Paris are cited by De Sacy in his edition of Abd Allatif, p. 90, speak of the well as fountains with which the balsam plants at "Mataria" were watered, with the addition that the virtues of the irrigant were due to the Messiah having bathed in it. The modern Coptic version, also related by Makrizi (MS. in Bibl. Nat. No. 682, fol. 16, *vide* De Sacy), is that the water was salt until the arrival of the Holy Family in Egypt, its softness being due to "Our Lady having bathed in it". In reality the supposed spring is an infiltration from the Nile, while the superstitions connected with it go back to the early days of Egypt, when it was the "Fountain of the Sun."

(60) The island of Raudha (Roda), or the isle of the *Mekâs*, Measurer, or Nilometer. According to Makrizi, it was first known as "the island", or the "island of Misr". Then it was called the Fort Island, Ahmed Ibn Tûlûn (A.D. 861) having built a fort on it, and later still received the name of Raudha. Here Gureyg the Mukowkis, the traitorous Greek governor, retired with his forces until he could make terms with the Moslem conqueror, into whose hands the frontier of Babylon had fallen. And on Raudha the Khalif Amir biacham-allah reared a pleasure house (haudaj) for his Bedouin wife, "and Sâleh Nejim ed-Din Ayyûb built the fortress called Sâlehiyya". The Bahrite ("river") Mamluks, who derive their name from being quartered here, further peopled it, while Ibrâhim Pasha laid out the northern part of the gardens. But though no longer resorted to by the Cairenes for a change of air, the foreign visitor comes to inspect the Nilometer, and the

natives respect it as the traditional spot where Pharaoh's daughter found the infant Moses. (Arabic MS. in Bibl. Nat., No. 682, fol. 376, *vide* De Sacy in Abd Allatif, p. 388). For the ceremonies attending the overflowing of the Nile, see Lane, *Modern Egyptians* (1871), vol. ii, p. 224, *et seq.*; Abd-Allatif (ed. De Sacy), pp. 404, 406, 505, etc.

(61) In this chapter Leo mixes up descriptions of El-Fostat and Cairo without any warning, except from the context, that he has suddenly shifted his ground. Thus, he is again at Cairo in describing the Citadel (El-Kal'a), near to the Bab ez-Zuweyla. It has been much altered since Leo's day, some of the oldest and most interesting parts having been pulled down—among others Saladin's palace. But it is still a little town in itself, and perfectly sodden with the grim chronicles from the twelfth century. Here, as in the days which follow, Leo describes the Cairo of the Mamluk Sultans. For though he saw the conquest by Selim—or Selin, as he spells the name—and visited the country thrice subsequently—but, according to my calculation, not later than 1520—his Egypt is essentially that of the "old Soldans", whose rule ended in 1517.

(62) This description of the customs of Cairo might, making allowance for four centuries having almost elapsed since it was written, stand very well for those of to-day. The "Sakkas", or water-sellers, of Leo's time are exactly those of ours, as sketched in Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, vol. ii, p. 16, *et seq.*

(63) Artificial egg-hatching, now familiar enough in Europe and America, where incubators of various kinds are in use, was from a very early date an Egyptian industry, which excited the interest and even disgust of prejudiced strangers. Early in the second century the Emperor Hadrian, in a letter to the Consul Servianus, full of contempt for the Egyptians, adds that he wished them no other curse than to be fed on their own chickens, "which are hatched in a way I am ashamed [*i.e.*, lest his veracity might be doubted] to relate." At one time, the trade of "manufacturing chickens", as the Arabs call it, was an oppressive monopoly in the hands of farmers-general, who exercised their lucrative privileges with so little regard to justice that, according to Makrizi, it was suppressed in A.H. 716 (A.D. 1316) by the reigning Sultan. At present, the Copts are the chief "chicken makers". At Gizeh there are many ovens, and at Mansura there used to be a great industry in it; the villagers of Bermai bearing the reputation of being supremely skilful at the art, which is only practised during the first two or three months of spring and early summer, for reasons given by Abd Allatif (p. 154).

A recent report (1891) of the United States Consul-General in Egypt,

sketches this ancient trade, and the 600 ovens (*mammal el feràk*) in which the hatching takes place. One which he visited was wholly constructed of sun-dried bricks, mortar, and earth. It was 70 ft. long, 60 ft. wide, and 16 ft. high, and was provided with twelve compartments or incubators, each capable of hatching 7,500 eggs, or altogether 90,000, at one time. The season begins in March and lasts until May, and three batches of eggs are hatched in this time, each taking an average of three weeks. The fourth week is given to removing the chickens, and preparing the incubators for a new batch of eggs. The number of eggs treated at this establishment in a single season was therefore 270,000, from which 234,000 chickens are usually obtained. The percentage of chickens would be greater but that the eggs are in some instances procured from long distances and in large quantities, and are therefore liable to damage. The price of eggs is 2½*d.* per dozen, and the chickens just issued from the shell are sold at 7½*d.* per dozen. The loss of chickens after incubation is comparatively small. The whole staff of the place is a man and a boy, who keep up the fires to a temperature of not less than 98° F., arrange the eggs, move them four or five times in the twenty-four hours, look after the chickens, and hand them over to the buyers, or to the customers, who generally receive one chicken for every two eggs sent in. In short, it is carried on to-day in all essential details as Herodotus saw it practised in Memphis more than 2,300 years ago. The number of chickens hatched in this manner throughout Egypt is variously estimated at from 10,000,000 to 75,000,000, and would, under ordinary circumstances, at the highest figure named, require 1,500,000 mothers.

(64) El Chenefia.

(65) "Il giudice della religione chiamata *Essifichia*," the followers of the Iman Esh-Shâfî (A.H. 150, A.D. 767-68).

(66) The Sunnites, in opposition to the Shiites. "Hashari" (Asari) is apparently a misprint or *lapsus pennæ* for Esh-Shâfî (Asafi), *ut supra*. He was of the Koraish tribe, and descended from Abd-ul Muttalib, the Prophet's grandfather.

(67) Malek ibn Anas (A.D. 95-179, A.D. 713-14—795), the first great systematiser of Moslem doctrines, and the founder of the Malekite Rite, as contradistinguished from the Hanefite, the school of Abu Hanefa an-Noman (A.H. 80, A.D. 699-70). Malek was born in Medina, or Medinat en-Nebî, "City of the Prophet"—"Medina Talnabi," according to Leo's somewhat uncouth transliteration.

(68) Such dreadful punishments, contrary to both the spirit and the

letter of the Koran, were abandoned about the same time that the scarcely less hideous ones, equally inimical to the teachings of Christianity, disappeared from European jurisprudence.

(69) This form of mutilation was prevalent in the time of Strabo (pp. 711, 824). Lane informs us that it is still universally practised in every part of Egypt, both by Moslems and Copts, except in Alexandria and perhaps a few other places on the shores of the Mediterranean (*Modern Egyptians*, vol. i, p. 73; *Arabic Dictionary*, *sub voce* "Hafeda"). Karsten Niebuhr "heard" that it was in vogue on both shores of the Persian Gulf and at Bagdad. (*Description d'Arabie*, p. 70). It is known in Somaliland, and Strabo mentions its prevalence not only in Egypt but in Arabia, where it is still carried out. Indeed, no Arab would accept a bride on whom the operation had not been performed. Roland (*De Religione Mohammedica*, ed. 1717, p. 75), traces an allusion to it in Galen. See also Ebers, *Egypten und die Bücher Mosis*, vol. i, pp. 278-284, etc., and Burton's edition of *The Arabian Nights*, vol. v, p. 279.

(70) This is not quite accurate. Besides the Circassian (Burgi) Mamluks, there were others of Turkish (Bahri) or Tartar origin, and several whose names suggest even Arab descent, though they appear to have been actually Tartars, and many were Greeks. Nor, of course, did it always follow that their religion had been originally Christian.

(71) In 1250, when Melek el-Ashraf was deposed by the Bahrite Mamluk, Melek Mo'izz Aybek. What follows refers to El-'Âdid's vizier Shawer, in his struggles with Darghan for office, calling in the help of Nur ed-Din, ruler of Aleppo, who sent Kurdish troops under his son Salâh ed-Din (Saladin). With these allies he quarrelled, and by the assistance of Amauri, or Amalrik, King of Jerusalem, drove them out of Egypt. On Amauri in his turn attempting to capture Cairo, that city was burnt. The Kurds were again called on, and Salâh ed-Din became Vizier, and subsequently king by usurping the throne on the deathof El-'Adid. Melek es-Sâleh (Negm ed-D in Ayyūb) originally imported the Mamluks or white slaves to defend him against the Crusaders and his own kinsmen.

(72) Also called Nâib es-Saltana, or Viceroy, or Melik el-Umara ("King of Nobles"), who lived in a special palace (Dar en-Niâba) in the Citadel. Lane-Poole, *Art of the Saracens*, p. 29. Leo's title for this functionary may perhaps be deciphered as the Emir el-Jandár or Jukendar; Makrizi, *Mamlouks*, t. i, pp. 118, 121.

(73) He was originally designated Atabek of the Armies (Atabek el-asâker); but after the middle of the fourteenth century he was called simply El-Emir el-Kabir ("the chief ruler"). In the *De Legatione Babylonica* (1516), p. 85, of Peter Martyr (Anglerius) we read that "Emir-Chebir est Magistratus primus post Soldanum."

(74) This official is not mentioned by Makrizi under that name; he always speaks simply of the Nâib (Nai), the Viceroy or Governor of Syria.

(75) The Ostâddâr or Major-domo, who by the year 1400, and during the turbulent reign of En-Nâsir, had so encroached on the post of Grand Vizier as to control not only the Royal Household, but the finances and Royal domains also. The title Ostâd-dâr means literally chief master of the house. Makrizi, *Mamlouks*, t. i, pp. 25-27.

(76) Amîr-Akhûr, assisted by the Sela-Khari or provider of the horses' food, and sometimes by a second Amir-Akhor, usually of the rank of Amirs of the Tabl-khâna or Decarions, or "Grand Ecuyer", to use the title of the corresponding French functionary. The assistant Amir-Akhors had the control of the different animals. Hence there were Amir-Akhors of the foals, of the camel stables, and sometimes of the oxen, the official in that case taking the title of Amir-Akhor as-Sawâki ("the Amir-Akhor of the machines of irrigation"). Von Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reichs Staats-Verfassung*, vol. ii, p. 409; Makrizi, *Mamlouks*, t. i, pp. 119, 120.

(77) Amir-Alf (commander of a thousand) is apparently the Amir-Alam or Adjutant-general, who took charge of the Sultan's arms ("trattar l'arme del soldano").

(78) Amir-mia (commander of a hundred), a functionary not mentioned by Makrizi.

(79) Really the Gâshenkîr, or Taster, an office filled by the founder of the Mamluk kings to Melik Saleh.—Makrizi, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, t. i, p. 2.

(80) The Amir-Silâh, or chief Armour-bearer (Silâhdâr). In some MSS. of Abu-l-mahasen quoted by De Sacy (Makrizi, t. i, p. 159), it is mentioned that latterly the Amir-Silâh became one of the chief dignitaries after the Atâbek-Amîr el-Kebîr.

(81) The Tisht-Khâna was the room in which the Royal robes, jewels, etc., were kept. The officials were called Tishtdârs and Rakhtwânis, and were under the direction of two mihtars or superintendents. Makrizi, *Mamlouks*, t. i, p. 162.

(82) The Sharâbdârs of the Sharâb-Khâna were under the control of one or two mihtars.

(83) The Firâsh-Khâna was really the store-room.

(84) "Sebabatia, cio è gli staffieri."

The Sultan's pages were called Ojakis, and were evidently, from a passage in Makrizi (t. i, p. 108), a set of pampered, mischievous imps. In the reign of Melik Mozaffer Kutuz (A.D. 1260) they attacked the Christians of Damascus.

(85) Tabarkhâna, or Department of Tabardars (Halberdiers?), under the Amir-Tabar. The Tablkhâna was the drum department, the Amir of the Tablkhâna being a very high functionary under the Mamluk Sultans. Many of these offices and customs, like the highly-prized privilege of keeping a private band, went out when the Turks took possession of Egypt.—Lane-Poole, *Art of the Saracens in Egypt*, pp. 29-33; Makrizi, *Mamlouks*, t. i, p. 173.

(86) "Addavia" in the 1632 reprint, "Addauia" in the 1613 and early editions generally. According to Makrizi, the Amir Gandâr, a high official, introduced great persons to the Royal presence, commanded the gandârs or equerries, and the Berd-dars or chamber attendants, and, besides having charge of the prison (zardkhâna), superintended executions and tortures. He was selected from the ranks of the Colonels (*mukkadam*) or Lords of the Drum.—Lane-Poole, *lib. cit.*, p. 30.

(87) According to Makrizi, the couriers were called "Berîdis". They travelled between Cairo and Damascus in four days.

(88) The "Ghâshia" was a Royal saddle-cloth embroidered with gold and precious stones. It was an emblem of sovereignty always carried before the Sultan by one of the great Amirs, whose rank on that account came to be called Ghâshia. It sometimes means a club, a reunion—"those who habitually surround one man". Burton renders "Ghashiyah" as literally "a cover", or, as employed nowadays, "a saddle-cover carried by the groom"—*Arabian Nights*, vol. iv, p. 131; Makrizi, *Mamlouks*, t. i, pp. 3-7. The "Escifia" of Leo appear to be the Khassekis, a grade of Mamluks always in attendance on the Sultan, and who accompanied the Mahmil to Mekka. They bore, after the Mamluk fashion, the lofty title of 'Kawâmil al-Koffal" (the perfect administrators).—Makrizi, *Mamlouks*, t. ii, pp. 158, 159.

(89) The "Khazindar" was the Mamluk treasurer.

(90) The Kâtim es-Sirr, the private secretary, who shared with the Dewâdâr the conduct of the Sultan's correspondence. — Makrizi, *Mamlouks*, t. ii, p. 115.

(91) There were various other secretaries, such as the Kâtib ed-Derej (Cabinet Secretary), the Kâtib el-Inshâ (Secretary of the Chancellery), etc. The Mushidd, a word of similar sound, designated an inspector.

(92) The "Mutesib" (*muhtesib*) is still a familiar official in all the Arab-speaking portions of Northern Africa, and even in Persia under the same name (Quatremère, in Makrizi, *lib. cit.*, t. i, p. 114). The title is, however, spelt so variously by European travellers that it is sometimes almost beyond recognition. Thus, it is the "metassoup" of Albert (*Etat de l'Egypte*, p. 80), the "metasit" of Sequezzi (*Revenus de l'Egypt*, p. 89), the "metesseb" of Pococke (*Descript. of the East*, vol. i, p. 165), the "moteheseb" of Höst (*Efterretninger*, p. 260), "al motassen" of Ali Bey (*Voyages*, t. iii, p. 128, etc.). See also De Sacy, *Chrestomathie Arabe*, t. i, p. 468, *et seq.*; De Chabrol, *Essai sur les mœurs de l'Egypte*, p. 515; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, vol. i, pp. 154, 155.

(93) The Amir el-Hajj—"Lord of the Pilgrimage"—still a very important office, but no longer the costly dignity it was under the Mamluks.

(94) Gizeh. This favourite summer retreat of the Mamluks is now a village of wrecked houses and ruined bazaars. Last century there was a manufactory of sal ammoniac here, and Savary notes the fields of saffiower (*Carthamus tinctoria*) in its vicinity.

(95) Probably Helwan or Alban, founded, or at least restored, by the Arabs under the Khalifate of Abd el-Melik. Abu-l-feda (ed. Reinaud, t. ii, p. 140) describes it as a "pleasant place" (Quatremère, *Mémoires Géographiques et historiques*, etc., p. 25). The Egyptian fig is the *Ficus Sycamorus*.

(96) El-Khanka, a ruined town, little known except for being one of the places on the caravan route to Mekka. It and Birket el-Hajj, the rendezvous of the pilgrims, are frequently mentioned in old narratives. Thus, in the Prefetto of Egypt's journal (1722) from Cairo to Mount Sinai (Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, ed. 1810, pp. 222, 224, 272) places "called Chanke", chiefly inhabited by poor Bedaweens and "Ukalt El-bahaar", are noted.

(97) El-Masarah, on the route to the Baths of Helwan, though Leo does not mention the great quarries. He describes it as "dopo il Cairo sopra il Nilo". "Sesama" is the sesame (*Sesamum Indicum*

and *S. Orientale*) still extensively grown in Egypt for the oil, which is used as a cosmetic, and is preferred for cooking purposes to olive oil.

(98) Benisuef. The linen manufacture for which it was famous in Leo's day was revived by Mehemet Ali in 1826, and it is still prosperous so far as the weaving of coarse fabrics in demand by the fellaheen is concerned. When Savary visited the town in 1777, he found carpet weaving the only industry, though almost crushed under the exaction of the Bey, who collected "arbitrary taxes sword in hand". Benisuef is less than seventy-three miles by railway from Cairo, but the crocodile is not nowadays found further north than about the twenty-seventh parallel, which is about 120 miles further south.

(99) Minieh, a prosperous town of about 100,000 people, and the seat of a considerable sugar manufactory. It was called Minyet beni-l-Khassib, after Al-Khassib, Controller of the Finances of Egypt under the Khalifate of Harun ar-Raschid, whose sons received the government of Upper Egypt during the Khalifate of Al-Mamun. The family had their residence here; but, as the remains of Romano-Grecian architecture show, they were not the founders of the place.

(100) Medinet el-Fayum, or Medinet el-Fares—the capital of Fayum, and hence generally called Medineh ("the City"). To the north of it is the site of Arsinoë, or Crocodopolis, Arsinoë being the name by which the Copts still call Medinet el-Fayum. The legends repeated by Leo do not rest on any basis more solid than Arab imagination. Medinet el-Fayum is a comparatively modern town, our author expressly referring to the ancient city, relics of which, in the shape of mounds, are found in its vicinity. Abu-l-feda speaks of Al-Fayum as possessing many artizans, baths, markets and colleges, where the doctrines of Shâfi and Melek were taught. M. Reinaud considers Fayum an alteration of the Egyptian "Piom", which signifies a great mass of water. Ed. of Abu-l-feda, t. ii, 158; Champollion, *L'Egypte sous les Pharaons*, t. i, p. 325.

(101) Manfalut, from the Coptic Manbalut, the remains of which, Leo writes, no longer exist, but mounds exist in the neighbourhood; and though no notice is taken of it by Greek or Roman historians, the name occurs in Coptic MSS., and means (Quatremère, *Mémoires Géog. et historiques*, t. i, p. 217) "the refuge of the wild asses". Abu-l-feda (ed. Reinaud, t. ii, p. 156) describes Manfalut as a small town on the western (not the *eastern*, as translated by Quatremère, Reiske and Michaëlis) bank of the Nile, with a single mosque. But when Mr. Richard Pococke, afterwards Bishop of Ossory (*A Description of the East*, 1745), visited the place, it stood, owing to alterations of the current, nearly a mile from the river. Now the stream has

gained ground so rapidly that, unless the encroachments cease, the town must disappear. The crocodile mummy pits are at Maabdel, on the Jebel Abufayda. But the crocodiles described by Leo as haunting "the fields" ("e i coccodrilli fanno dimolti danni") are not now found so far to the north. In Makrizi's day, the Christians of Manfalut were so brotherly that they all worshipped at the Monastery of Benu Kelb. When Pococke made acquaintance with the place there were 200 Christians, whose church was at Narach.

(102) Asiut is still a place of considerable importance, though not so wealthy since the decay of its caravan trade with the Sudan. Except mounds, tombs, and grottoes, there are now few remains of the ancient city of which Leo speaks. The Patriarch Peter of Alexandria mentions Meletius, Bishop of Σιωούτ, who is elsewhere referred to as Μελέτιος ὁ ἀπὸ Ληκῶ τῆς Θηβαΐδος. St. John of Lycopolis is called St. John of Sioût by the Copts. (*Illustrium Christi martyrum lecti triumphi*, p. 20. Quatremère, *Mémoires*, t. i, p. 275.) The Arabs preserved the Coptic name in the modern designation of the town, which Abu-l-feda (ed. Reinaud, t. ii, p. 154) writes as Osiuth (Osyouth) or Soyouth.

(103) Ikhmin, or Akhmin, the successor of the Greek Chemmis (Χέμμις), or Panopolis (Πανοπολις), the Arabic name being a slight corruption of the Coptic *Shmin*. The remains of buildings erected by, or in honour of, Thothmes III, Ptolemy, son of Auletes, Diocletian, and other sovereigns, fully justify the Arab legends, to which Leo gives voice, about this being a very ancient city, though its foundation by Ikhmin, son of Misraim, "The son of Cush, which was the son [?] of Ham" ("Icmin figliuolo di Misrain, a cui tu padre Cus figliuolo di En" more correctly in the original Italian), is, as usual, apocryphal. Herodotus refers to Chemmis, and Strabo to Panopolis; and it is mentioned by Abu-l-feda, Ibn Haukal, Kaswini, El-Bekri, Makrizi, and other Moslem historians. From Leo's account it seems to have suffered so much at the conqueror's hands—albeit, according to Herodotus, the citizens took more kindly to foreign (to wit, Greek) customs than the rest of the Egyptians. Dulnum, who wrote the *El-Mejârebet* (Experiments), was a native of Ikhmin, as was also Perseus, to whom his descendants ordained festivals here, which rivalled those to Pan, after whom the city was named. For remains of serpent worship here see Savary, *Letters*, vol. i, p. 465. When Pococke visited it in 1737, Ikhmin was governed by a Berber Amir. But, like the Howara and other Moghrebin tribes once extending to Egypt (Khalil-Dahery in De Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, t. i, pp. 242, 243, 247: Quatremère, *Mémoires*, t. ii, p. 200, *et seq*), the Berber princes of Ikhmin have vanished. These Howara rulers were probably those

referred to by Leo in his account of Menshiyeh. But in that case there is a slight obscurity; for, leaving out of account the fact that they were in power until at least 1737, there was never any "imperadore de' Turchi" called "Sulieman nono"; what Leo means is probably that the princes in question were (more or less temporarily) suppressed—which is extremely likely—by Selim I on his conquest of Egypt, and that Selim was the ninth Emperor of Turkey, unless, indeed, Solyman ("the magnificent"), who was the tenth Sultan, and reigned from 1520 to 1566, is intended. The "Dalmatian Slave", to whom tradition assigned the elevation of the Menshiyeh Berber chief, was Gowher.

(104) Menshiyeh, the Coptish Psoi, the capital of a Greek Nome of the same name, though it is improbable that the place, not apparently at any time extensive, occupies the site of Ptolemaïs Hermii, a town as large as Thebes.

(105) Girgeh, or St. George's, a considerable town named from the Coptic convent sacred to the patron saint of Egypt and of England. When Pococke and Norden visited it the town was a quarter of a mile from the Nile. Now we learn (Murray, *Guide Book*, p. 233) that by the pressure of the river on the eastern bank, part of the place has been washed away.

(106) There are many Coptic monasteries in this region. The one named Chean (Khean) is too loosely located to be identified with certainty. But both the huge village monastery of (in the Egyptian-Arabic) Dayr el-abiad, or Amba-Shenudeh, and Dayr el-ahmar, or Amba Bishoi, correspond in some degree to Leo's description.

(107) Denderah, where, close to a modern village of that name, there is a Ptolemaic temple to Venus, and other ruins. Tentyres, the village of crocodile-hunters, stood here.

(108) Keneh, the site of the ancient Cænopolis or Neapolis. It still does a great trade with Kosseir (Chossir), Yambo (Iambuh, Emba), and Jiddah. It is actually about eighty miles from the Red Sea.

(109) Esneh is confounded by Leo with Syene, which was Assuan, a blunder followed by Sicard (*Mém. des Missions*, t. ii, p. 183), Vansleb, and others. Strabo (lib. xvii, p. 817), Ptolemy (lib. iv, cap. 5), and the *Antonine Itinerary* (p. 160) mention Lato or Latopolis, and in the *Notitia dignitatum imperii* (ed. Labbe, p. 320) a corps of Egyptian archers is referred to as stationed at this city. Edrisi and Al-Adfai (cited by Makrizi) also speak of Esneh; but if the Ansena of Abu-l-

feda was opposite Oshmunayn (ed. Reinaud, p. 157) it could not have been Esneh, but the modern village of Sheikh Abadeh, the site of the ancient Antinoë, also still called Ansena. It was a "city of magicians", from which, according to the Arabs, Pharaoh brought the conjurors to compete with Moses in miracle working. Hartmann (*Edrisii Africa*, p. 505) and Quatremère (*Mémoires*, t. i, p. 273) seem to fancy Abu-l-feda's Ansena identical with Leo's Asna.

(110) Asuan, Aswan, or Oswan, occupies the site of the ancient Syene, the Arabic name being, however, a corruption by prefixing an I of the Coptic *Suan* or *Senou*. This town, situated at Esh-Shellal or the First Cataract of the Nile, 730 miles from the Mediterranean, ended Leo's voyage, as it has terminated that of so many less famous tourists. Beyond, he was correctly enough informed, there were many ruins. But the most extraordinary circumstance connected with Leo's Nile voyage is that he passed close to the actual Thebes, evidently without being aware of that remarkable remnant of the ancient greatness of Egypt. Luxor, the site of the Greek and Roman Diospolis, he must have seen, but before reaching that point he had become *blasé* about infidel antiquities. At all events, he went up to Asuan and back again to Keneh, whence he crossed to Kosseir on the Red Sea without noticing Koptos (Kobt) or Karnak. Otherwise, his description is fairly complete. Asuan is still—or was until the Sudan was partially closed to caravans—a great place of trade with inner Africa, Suakim and the Red Sea ports, and the population is about as mixed (as Leo declares) as the language of the races beyond the First Cataract. In those days this region was dominated by the Bejas, the Egyptian jurisdiction ending, as did latterly the Roman rule, at Asuan (Strabo, lib. 17).

# IOHN LEO HIS
## NINTH BOOKE OF
## the Historie of Africa, and
## *of the memorable things*
## therein contained.

Wherein he entreateth of the principall riuers, and of the strange liuing creatures, plants, and minerals of the same countrey.

### *Of the riuer of Tensist.*

THe riuer of *Tensist (that we may begin in Barbarie from the westerne part of Africa) springing foorth of the mountaines of Atlas which are next vnto the citie of Hanimmei, to witte, about the east part of the territorie of Maroco, and continuing his course northwarde ouer the plaines, receiueth many other riuers thereinto, and at Azafi a towne of Duccala dischargeth his streames into the maine Ocean. Into this mightie riuer of Tensist fall two other great riuers, called Siffelmel and Niffis; the one whereof springeth out of Hanteta a mountaine of Maroco; and the other issuing foorth of mount Atlas neere vnto Maroca, and winding it selfe along the plaines of that region, disemboqueth at last into the saide mightie riuer. And albeit the riuer Tensist be for the most part of an exceeding depth, yet

* *Or Tensiff.*

may it in diuers places be waded ouer, where the water reacheth vnto the stirrups of an horseman: but a footemen must strippe himselfe naked to passe ouer the same. Neere vnto Maroco there is a bridge of fifteene arches builte by king *Mansor* vpon this riuer: which bridge is accounted one of the most curious buildings in all Africa. Three of the saide arches were demolished by *Abu Dubus* the last king and patriarke of Maroco, to the ende he might hinder the passage of *Iacob* the first Fezsan king of the Marin familie: but this attempt of his was to none effect, as it sufficiently appeered by the successe thereof.

### *Of the two riuers called Teseuhin.*

THe two riuers called by this one name, springing each of them, three miles asunder, out of mount Gugideme, and running through the plaines of Hascora, exonerate themselues into the riuer called Lebich. These two riuers (as I haue said) haue one onely name, being either of them (according to the African language) called Teseut in the singular number, and in the plural Teseuhin, which signifieth listes or borders.

### *Of Quadelhabid, that is to say, the riuer of seruants.*

QVadelhabid taking his original among the high and chill mountaines of Atlas, and running through certaine narrow and vneeuen valleis, holdeth on his course by the confines of Hascora and Tedle, and then stretching northward ouer a certaine plaine, falleth at length into the riuer of Ommirabih. In Maie when the snow melteth, this riuer increaseth to some bignes.

### *Of the riuer of Ommirabih.*

THe mightie riuer of Ommirabih issuing also forth of the lofty mountaines of Atlas where the prouince of Tedle bordereth vpon the kingdome of Fez, passeth through

certain plaines called Adachfun, and being afterward streitned among the narrow valleis, it runneth vnder a stately bridge built by Ibulhasen the fourth king of the Marin family: from thence trending southward it watereth the plaines situate between the regions of Duccala and Temesne, and lastly disburdeneth it selfe vnder the wals of Azamor into the maine Ocean. About the end of Maye they take great store of fishes in this riuer called by the Italians Lasche, wherwith all Azamur being sufficiently stored, they salt the said fishes and send many ships ful of them into Portugall.

### *Of the riuer of Buregrag.*

BVregrag arising out of one of the mountaines of Atlas, and continuing his course by sundrie vallies, woods, and hils, proceedeth on ouer a certaine plaine, and neere vnto the townes of Sala and Rabat, being the vtmost frontiers of the Fezsan kingdome, it falleth into the Ocean sea. Neither haue the two foresaid townes any other port or harbour, but within the mouth of the said riuer onely, which is so difficult to enter, that vnlesse the pilote be throughly acquainted with the place, he is in great hazard of running his ship vpon the shoulds: which shoulds serue instead of bulwarkes to defend either towne from the fleets of the Christians.

### *Of the riuer of Baht.*

THis riuer issuing foorth of mount Atlas, stretcheth northward by the woods and mountaines, and running among certaine litle hils, disperseth it selfe vpon the plaines of the prouince of Azgar, and from thence it falleth into certaine fens, lakes, and moist valleies, where they take great store of eeles, and of the foresaid fishes called Lasche. The inhabitants liue vpon cattell, and fishing, and by reason of the plentie of milke, fish, and

butter which they eate, they are much subiect vnto the disease called in Italian Morphia. This riuer may continually be waded ouer, except it be much increased by abundance of raine and melted snowe.

*Of the riuer of Subu.*

THe riuer of Subu beginneth vpon mount Selilgo, standing in Cheuz, a prouince of the Fezsan kingdome. And it springeth out of a great fountaine in the midst of a vaste and solitarie woode, and runneth by diuers mountaines and hils: from whence extending vpon the plaines, it approcheth within sixe miles of Fez, diuideth in sunder the regions of Habat and Azgar, and at length about Mahmora, a place not farre from Sala, exonerateth it selfe into the Ocean sea. Into this river fall diuers others, two of which, namely Guarga and Aodor, spring out of the mountaines of Gumera, and the residue from the mountaines of the territorie of Teza. And although Subu be a large riuer, yet may it in sundry places be waded ouer, except in winter and the spring, when it cannot be crossed but in certaine dangerous and small boats. The same riuer also which runneth through the citie of Fez called in the language of that country, The riuer of perles, entereth into the foresaid riuer of Subu. This riuer of Subu aboundeth exceedingly with fish, and especially with the foresaid fishes called Lasche, which are there of no reckoning. The mouth thereof neere vnto the Ocean sea, being very deepe and broad, is nauigable for ships of great burthen, as the Portugals and Spaniards haue found by often experience: and were not the inhabitants so slothfull, it might vsually and commodiously be sailed vpon: yea, if the corne which is carried by the merchants of Fez ouer land through the region of Azgar, were conueighed by water vp this riuer, it might be solde at Fez for half the price.

*Of the riuer of Lucus.*

LVccus issuing forth of the mountaines of Gumera, and stretching westward ouer the plaines of Hebat and Azgar, passeth by the city of Casar Elcabir, and neere vnto Harais a city of Azgar vpon the borders of Habat, dischargeth it selfe into the main Ocean: in the mouth of this riuer lyeth the hauen of the foresaid city, being very difficult to enter.

*Of the riuer of Mulullo.*

MVlullo arising out of mount Atlas betweene the cities of Teza, and Dubdu, runneth through the dessert and barren plaines of Terrest and Tasrata, and at length exonerateth it selfe into the riuer Muluia.

*Of the riuer of Muluna.*

THe famous riuer of *Muluna taking his originall from that part of Atlas which is situate in the region of Cheuz, about fiue and twentie miles from the citie of Gherseluin, and passing ouer dishabited and drie plaines, as also amidst the deserts of Angad and of Garet, and by the foote of mount Beni Ieznaten, falleth not farre from the towne of Chasasa into the Mediterran sea. This riuer a man may wade ouer alwaies in sommer, in the mouth whereof are caught most excellent fishes.

* *Or Muluia.*

*Of the riuer of Za.*

THis riuer springing out of mount Atlas runneth through a certaine plaine of the desert of Angad, whereas the kingdomes of Fez and of Telensin confine one vpon an other: which though it be exceeding deepe, yet neuer did I see the water thereof thicke or muddie. It aboundeth with fishes, but the inhabitants being destitute of fit instruments, can not take them, neither indeed be the waters conuenient to fish vpon, bicause they are so cleere.

*Of the riuer of Tefne.*

THe small riuer of Tefne issuing foorth of the mountaines bordering vpon Numidia, and continuing a northerly course ouer the desert of Angad, falleth into the Mediterran sea, about fifteene miles from Telensin, and it affourdeth nought but a fewe small fishes.

*Of the riuer Mina.*

THis riuer flowing out of certaine mountaines neere vnto Tegdent, passeth through the fieldes of the citie of Batha, and thence runneth northerly into the Mediterran sea.

*Of the riuer Sele.*

THis great river falling from the mountaines of Guanferis, and descending through barren plaines to the confines of the kingdomes of Telensin and Tenez, separateth Mezagran from Mustuganin, and then entreth into the Mediterran sea: in the mouth of which riuer are caught very excellent fishes of diuers kinds.

*Of the riuer Sessaia.*

THis small riuer beginning from mount Atlas, passeth ouer the plaine of Mettegia neere vnto Alger, and not farre from the ancient towne of Temendesust dischargeth it selfe into the Mediterran sea.

*Of that which is called The great riuer.*

THis riuer ariseth out of the mountaines adioining vpon the region of Zeb, from whence running along, it disemboqueth into the Mediterran sea about three miles from Bugia. It ouerfloweth not but in rainie and snowie weather: neither vse the people of Bugia to fish therein, hauing the sea so neere them.

*Of the riuer called Susgmare.*

IT springeth out of the mountaines bordering vpon mount Auras, and passeth on through the barren fields vnto the territorie of the citie Constantina, and gliding along by the borders thereof, it receiueth a small riuer; and so holding a Northerly course it falleth into the Mediterran sea about the same place where it separateth the fields of Chollo from the fieldes of the castle called Iegel.

*Of the riuer Iadog.*

THis small riuer issuing foorth of the mountaines neere Constantina, and stretching by the same mountaines towards the east, disburdeneth it selfe into the sea not farre from the citie of Bona.

*Of the riuer called Guadilbarbar.*

IT proceedeth out of certaine mountaines adioining vpon the fieldes of the citie called Vrbs, and gliding by the hils and mountaines, it runneth in such a crooked chanell, that such as trauell from Bona to Tunis, must crosse ouer it without either boates or bridges aboue twentie times. And so at length it falleth into the sea not farre from the forsaken port of Tabraca, and about fifteene miles from the citie of Bege.

*Of the riuer of Megerada.*

THe mightie riuer of Megerada springing foorth of the mountaines neere vnto the citie Tebessa, vpon the borders of the prouince of Zeb, continueth a northerly course, vntil at a place called Gharel Meleh, fortie miles distant from Tunis it exonerateth it selfe into the Mediterran sea. In rainie weather it so increaseth, that trauellers, bicause there are neither boates nor bridges, are constrained to staie two or three daies by the riuers side till it be de-

creased, especially within sixe miles of Tunis. And hereby you may see how the Africans of these times degenerate both in wit and courage from the ancient Africans, who made the people of Rome to tremble so often at their valour.

### *Of the riuer of Capis.*

IT proceedeth from a certaine southerne desert, and passing through sandie plaines, falleth into the sea by a towne of that very name. The water thereof is salt, and so hot, that whosoeuer listeth to drinke of it, must set it a cooling for the space of an hower. Thus much concerning the principall riuers of Barbarie: let vs nowe proceede on to describe the Numidian riuers.

*A riuer of hot and salt water.*

### *Of the riuers of Numidia; and first of the riuer called Sus.*

THe great riuer of Sus flowing out of the mountaines of Atlas, that separate the two prouinces of Hea and Sus in sunder, runneth southward among the saide mountaines, stretching into the fields of the foresaid region, and from thence trending westward vnto a place called * Gurtuessen, where it dischargeth it selfe into the maine Ocean. In winter time it mightily ouerfloweth, but in sommer it is verie shallow.

* *Or Guartguessen.*

### *Of the riuer of Darba.*

THis riuer taking his originall from mount Atlas about the confines of Hascora, passeth southward to the prouince called Darha: from whence proceeding through the deserts, it is dispersed among certaine fieldes and pastures, where bicause of the abundance of grasse, the Arabians feede their camels. In sommer it is so dried vp, that a man shall not wet his shooes in going ouer it: but it so increaseth in winter, that it cannot be passed ouer in

boats. And by extreme heate of the sunne the waters thereof prooue bitter.

### *Of the riuer of Ziz.*

THis riuer springing out of the mountaines of Atlas inhabited by the people called Zanaga, and running along by many other mountaines and by the city of Gherseluin, holdeth on his course through the fields of Cheneg, Metgara, and Reteb, and entreth the territorie of the city Segelmesse: from whence it proceedeth by the desert castle of Sugaihila, and beyond the said castle falleth into a lake amidst the sandie deserts, where no inhabitants are to be found, whither notwithstanding the Arabian hunters vsually resort, for that they finde great store of game there.

### *Of the riuer of Ghir.*

THE riuer of Ghir issuing also forth of Mount Atlas, stretcheth southward by certaine deserts, and then passing through the region of Benigumi, transformeth it selfe likewise into a lake in the very midst of the deserts.

Whereas in the beginning of this my discourse, intreating of the diuision of Africa, I described the riuer called by *Ptolemey* Niger, it would here be superfluous to make any repetition thereof: wherefore let vs now proceede vnto the description of Nilus.

### *Of the mightie riuer of Nilus.*

THE course of this riuer is in very deed most admirable, and the creatures therein contained are exceeding strange, as namely sea-horses, sea-oxen, crocodiles, and other such monstrous and cruel beasts, (as we will afterward declare) which were not so hurtfull either in the ancient times of the Egyptians or of the Romaines, as

they are at this present: but they became more dangerous euer since the Mahumetans were lords of Egypt. *Meshudi* in his treatise of the memorable thinges of his time, reporteth that when *Humeth* the sonne of *Thaulon* was lieutenant of Egypt vnder *Gibsare Mutauichil* the Califa of Bagdet, namely in the yeere of the Hegeira 270. there was a certaine leaden image about the bignes of a crocodile found among the ruines of an old Egyptiã temple, which in regard of the Hieroglyphick characters & constellations, engrauen theron, serued instead of an inchantmẽt against all crocodiles; but so soone as the saide lieutenant caused it to be broken in peeces, the crocodiles began then to inuade men, and to doe much mischiefe. Howbeit what the reason should be, why the crocodiles betweene Cairo and the Mediterran sea are harmelesse, and those aboue Cairo towards the maine land, should deuoure and kill so many persons, it goeth beyond my skill to determine.[26] But, to returne vnto the description of Nilus, it increaseth (as we have saide) for the space of fortie daies, beginning from the seuenteenth of Iune; and it continueth iust so long time in decreasing. For whereas in the higher Ethiopia it raineth most abundantly about the beginning of May, the course and inundation of the water is hindred all the moneth of May, & some part of Iune, before it can attaine vnto the plaine countrey of Egypt. Concerning the originall fountaine of this riuer, there are manifold opinions, and all of them uncertaine. Some there are which affirme the same to spring out of the mountaines, called by themselues, The mountaines of the moone; and others say that it beginneth vpon certaine plaines situate beneath the foote of the saide mountaines, and issueth out of sundrie fountaines, being a great way distant one from another. Howbeit the former of these two auouch, that Nilus with great violence falleth down from the saide mountaines into certaine deepe caues vnder the

*Sundry opinions concerning Nilus.*

ground, and commeth foorth againe at the foresaide fountaines. Both of which opinions are false: for neuer did any man as yet see where Nilus taketh his originall. The Ethiopian merchants which resort for traffike vnto the citie of Dancala, affirme that Nilus towards the south is enlarged into such a mightie lake, that no man can perceiue which way the course thereof trendeth: and that afterward being diuided into manifold branches running in saueral chanels, and stretching themselues east and west, it hindereth the passage of traueilers, so that they cannot compasse those intricate windings and turnings. Likewise diuers Ethiopians inhabiting vpon the plaines in manner of the Arabians, say that many of them traueiling fiue hundred miles southward to seeke their camels which were straied away in the heate of their lust, found Nilus to be in all places alike, that is to say, dispersed into manifolde armes and lakes, and that they discouered sundrie desert and barren mountaines, where the foresaide *Meshudi* affirmeth emraulds to be found: which seemeth more probable then that which the same author affirmeth concerning sauage men, which wander vp and downe like wilde goates, and feede vpon the grasse of the deserts in manner of beasts. But if I recorded all the fables which our writers report concerning Nilus, I shoulde seeme ouer tedious vnto the Reader.

### *Of the strange beasts and other liuing creatures of Africa.*

MY purpose is not in this discourse to make a cõplete history of the liuing creatures in Africa, but only of such as are either not to be founde in Europe, or such as differ in any respect from those that are founde: And heere I intend to describe in order certaine beasts, fishes, and foules, omitting many things reported by *Plinie*, who was doubtlesse a man of rare and singular learning, not-

withstanding by the default and negligence of certaine authors which wrote before him, he erred a little in some small matters concerning Africa: howbeit a little blemish ought not quite to disgrace all the beautie of a faire and amiable bodie.

## *Of the Elephant.*

THis wittie beast keepeth in the woods, & is found in great numbers in the forrests of the land of Negros. They vse to go many in one cõpany; and if they chance to meet with any man, they either shun him or giue place vnto him. But if the Elephant intendeth to hurt any man, he casteth him on the groũd with his long snout or trunk, & neuer ceaseth trampling vpon him till he be dead. And although it is a mightie and fierce beast, yet are there great store of them caught by the Ethiopian hunters in manner following. These hunters being acquainted with the woodes and thickets where they keepe, vse to make among the trees a rounde hedge of strong boughes and raftes, leauing a space open on the one side therof, and likewise a doore standing vpon the plaine grounde which may bee lift vp with ropes, wherewith they can easily stoppe the said open place or passage. The elephant therefore comming to take his rest vnder the shady boughes, entreth the hedge or inclosure, where the hunters by drawing the saide rope and fastening the doore hauing imprisoned him, descend downe from the trees, and kill him with their arrowes, to the end they may get his teeth and make sale of them. But if the elephant chaũceth to breake through the hedge, he murthereth as many men as he can finde. In Ethiopia the higher, and India, they haue other deuises to take the elephant, which least I should seeme ouer-tedious, I passe ouer in silence.

*The manner of taking elephants in Ethiopia.*

## *Of the beast called Giraffa.*

THis beast is so sauage and wilde, that it is a very rare matter to see any of them: for they hide themselues among the deserts and woodes, where no other beasts vse to come; and so soone as one of them espieth a man, it flieth foorthwith, though not very swiftly. It is headed like a camell, eared like an oxe, and footed like a * : neither are any taken by hunters, but while they are very yoong.

* *Here is a word wanting in the originall.*

## *Of the Camell.*

CAmels are gentle and domesticall beasts, and are found in Africa in great numbers, especially in the deserts of Libya, Numidia, and Barbaria. And these the Arabians esteeme to be their principall possessions and riches: so that speaking of the wealth of any of their princes or gouernors, he hath (say they) so many thousand camels, and not so manie thousand ducates. Moreouer the Arabians that possesse camels, liue like lords and potentates in great libertie, bicause they can remaine with their camels in barren deserts, whither no kings nor princes can bring armies to subdue them. These kindes of beasts are to be seene in * all parts of the worlde, to wit, in Asia, Africa, and Europe. And they are vsed in Asia by the Tartars, the Curdians, the Dalemians, and the Turcomans. In Europe the Turkes vse them to carrie burthens vpon, as likewise do all the Arabians in Africa, and the inhabitants of the Lybian deserts; yea kings in their armies vse camels also, to conueigh their victuals and carriages: howbeit the African camels farre excell them of Asia; for trauailing fortie or fiftie daies togither, without any prouender at all, they are vnladen in the euening, and turned loose into the next fieldes, where they feede vpon grasse, brambles, and the boughes of trees; which hardnes

* *In all parts of the world which the author at that time knew.*

*The African camels are the best.*

the camels of Asia cannot endure, but when they set foorth any iourney, they must be well pampered and full of flesh. Experience hath taught, that our camels hauing trauailed laden fiftie daies togither without any prouender ; haue so wasted, first the flesh of their bunches, secondly of their bellies, and lastly of their hips, that they haue scarce beene able to carrie the weight of 100. pounds. But the merchants of Asia giue their camels prouender, halfe of them being laden with wares, and the other halfe with prouender, and so their whole carouan of camels goeth foorth and returneth home laden : by which meanes they keepe them in good plight, and reape double gaines by their labour. Contrariwise the African merchants trauailing with merchandise into Ethiopia, bicause they returne emptie, and bringe backe with them things of no great weight, so soone as they arriue with their leane and galled camels in Ethiopia, they sell them halfe for nought vnto the inhabitants of the deserts. And they that returne into Barbarie or Numidia, need very fewe camels ; namely for themselues to ride vpon, for to carrie their victuals, their money, and other light commodities. Of camels there are three kinds ; whereof the first being called Hugiun are grosse, and of a tall stature, and most fit to carrie burthens, but ere fowre yeeres end they grow vnprofitable : after which time euery camell but of meane stature will carrie a thousand pounds of Italian weight. When any of the saide camels is to be laden, being beaten vpon his knees and necke with a wande, he kneeleth downe, and when he feeleth his load sufficient, he riseth vp againe. And the Africans vse to gelde their camels which they keepe for the burthen, putting but one male camell among ten femals. The second kinde of camels called Becheti, and hauing a double bunch, are fit both to carrie burthens, and to ride vpon : and these are bred onely in Asia. The thirde kinde called Raguahill,[28] are camels of a slender and low stature, which

*Three kinds of camels.*

*Camels of a woonderfull swiftnes, otherwise called Dromedaries.*

albeit they are vnfit to carry burthens yet do they so excell the two other kindes in swiftness, that in the space of one day they will trauell an hundred miles, and will so continue ouer the deserts for eight or ten daies togither with very little prouender: and these doe the principal Arabians of Numidia and the Moores of Libya vsually ride vpon. When the king of Tombuto is desirous to sende any message of importance vnto the Numidian merchants with great celeritie, his post or messenger riding vpon one of these camels, will runne from Tombuto to Darha or Segelmesse, being nine hundred miles distant, in the space of eight daies at the farthest: but such as trauell must be expert in the way through the deserts, neither will they demaund lesse than fiue hundred ducates for euery iourney. The saide camels about the beginning of the spring inclining to their lust and venerie, do not onely hurt one another, but also will deadly wound such persons as haue done them any iniury in times past, not forgetting light and easie stripes: and whomsoeuer they lay holde on with their teeth, they lift him vp on high, and cast him downe againe, trampling vpon him with their feete, and in this madde moode they continue fortie daies togither. Neither are they so patient of hunger as of thirst; for they will abstaine from drinke, without any inconuenience, for fifteen daies togither: and if their guides water them once in three daies, they doe them great hurt, for they are not vsually watred but once in fiue or nine daies, or at an vrgent necessitie, once in fifteene daies. Moreouer the saide camels are of a gentle disposition, and are indued as it were with a kinde of humaine reason: for when as betweene Ethiopia and Barbarie they haue a daies iourney to trauell more than their woont, their masters cannot driue them on, being so tired, with whips, but are faine to sing certaine songs vnto them; wherewith being exceedingly delighted, they performe their iourney with such

*The camels great abstinence from drinke.*

*How the Camels of Cairo learne to dance.*

swiftnes, that their saide masters are scarce able to follow them. At my being in Cairo I sawe a camell dance; which arte of dancing howe he learned of his master I will heere in fewe words report. They take a yoong camell, and put him for halfe an hower togither into a place like a bathstoue prepared for the same purpose, the floore whereof is het with fire: then play they without vpon a drum, whereat the camell, not so much in regard of the noise, as of the hot pauement which offendeth his feete, lifteth vp one legge after another in maner of a dance, and hauing beene accustomed vnto this exercise for the space of a yeere or ten moneths, they then present him vnto the publike view of the people, when as hearing the noise of a drum, and remembering the time when he trode vpon the hot floore, he presently falleth a dancing and leaping: and so, vse being turned into a kind of nature, he perpetually obserueth the same custome. I could here report other matters concerning the same beast, which for breuities sake I omit.

### *Of the horse of Barbarie.*

THis name is giuen vnto the Barbarie horses throughout Italy and all Europe, bicause they come foorth of Barbarie, and are a kinde of horses that are bred in those regions; but they which so thinke are deceiued: for the horses of Barbarie differ not in any respect from other horses: but horses of the same swiftnes & agilitie are in the Arabian toong called throughout all Egypt, Syria, Asia, Arabia Felix, and Deserta, by the name of Arabian horses: and the historiographers affirme, that this kinde of wilde horses, ranging vp and downe the Arabian deserts, and being broken and managed by the Arabians euer since the time of *Ismael*, haue so exceedingly multiplied and increased, that they haue replenished the most part of Africa: which opinion sauoureth of truth: for euen at this

present there are great store of wilde horses founde both in the African and Arabian deserts. And I myselfe sawe in the Numidian desert a wilde colte of a white colour, and hauing a curled maine. The most certaine triall of these horses is when they can ouertake the beast called Lant or the Ostrich in a race: which if they be able to performe, they are esteemed woorth a thousand ducats or an hundred camels. Howbeit very fewe of these horses are brought vp in Barbarie, but the Arabians that inhabite the deserts, and the people of Libya bring vp great numbers of them, vsing them not for trauell or warfare, but onely for hunting, neither do they giue them any other meate but the milke of camels, and that twise euery day and night, to the ende they may keepe them nimble, liuely, and of spare flesh; and in the time of grasse they suffer them to feede in pastures, but then they ride not vpon them. But those that the princes of Barbarie bring vp, are not of such swiftnes, but being fedde with prouender, are more beautifull and comely to the eie; and these they vse vpon an vrgent necessitie, when they woulde escape the danger of their enimies.

*Horses fedde with camels milk.*

### *Of the wilde horse.*

THe wilde horse is one of those beasts that come seldome in sight. The Arabians of the desert take the wilde horse and eat him, saying that the yoonger the horse be, the sweeter is his flesh: but he will hardly be taken either with horses or dogs. In the waters where this beast keepeth they lay certaine snares, couering them ouer with sand, wherein his foote being caught he is intangled and slaine.

### *Of the beast called Lant or Dant.*

THis beast in shape resembleth an oxe, sauing that he hath smaller legs and comelier horns. His haire is white, and his hoofs are as blacke as iet, and he is so

exceeding swift, that no beast can ouertake him, but onely the Barbary horse, as is beforesaid. He is easlier caught in sommer then in winter, because that in regard to the extreme fretting heat of the sand his hoofs are then strained and set awry, by which meanes his swiftnes is abated, like as the swiftnes of stagges & roe-deer. Of the hide of this beast are made shields and targets of great defence, which will not be pierced but onely with the forcible shot of a bullet; but they are sold at an extreame price.

*Targets made of a skin.*

*Of the wilde oxe.*

IT resembleth the tame oxe, saue that it is lesse in stature, being of a gray or ashe-color, and of great swiftnes. It haunteth either the deserts, or the confines of the deserts. And the flesh thereof (they say) is very sauory.

*Of the wild asse.*

THis beast also being found either in the deserts or vpon the borders thereof, is of an ash-colour. In swiftnes they are surpassed onely by the Barbary horses, and when they see a man, they bray out a loude, kicking and wincing with their heeles, and standing stone-still, till one approcheth so near them, that he may touch them with his hand & then they betake themselues to flight. By the Arabians of the deserts they are caught with snares, and other engines. They goe in companies either when they feede or water themselues. Their flesh is hot and vnsauorie, and hath a wilde tast: but being set a cooling two dayes after it is sodden, it becometh very sauory and pleasant.

*Of the oxen vpon the mountaines of Africa.*

ALl the oxen vpon the mountaines of Africa being tame cattell are of so meane a stature, that in comparison of other oxen they seeme to be but heifers of two yeeres

old: but the mountainers, vsing them to the plough, say that they are strong and will indure much labour.

*Of the beast called Adimmain.*

IT is a tame beast, beeing shaped like a ramme, and of the stature of an asse, and hauing long and dangle eares. The Libyans vse these beasts instead of kine, and make of their milke great store of cheese and butter. They haue some wooll, though it be but short. I my selfe vpon a time being merily disposed, road a quarter of a mile vpon the backe of one of these beasts. Very many of them are in the deserts of Libya, and but few in other places: and it is a rare matter to see one of them in the Numidian fields.

*Of the African Ramme.*

THere is no difference betweene these rammes of Africa and others, saue onely in their tailes, which are of a great thicknes, being by so much the grosser, but how much they are more fatte, so that some of their tailes waigh tenne, and other twentie pounds a peece, and they become fatte of their owne naturall inclination: but in Egypt there are diuers that feede them fatte with bran and barly, vntill their tailes growe so bigge that they cannot remooue themselues from place to place: insomuch that those which take charge of them are faine to binde little carts vnder their tailes, to the end they may haue strength to walke. I my selfe sawe at a citie in Egypt called Asiot, and standing vpon Nilus, about an hundred and fiftie miles from Cairo, one of the saide rams tailes that weighed fowerscore pounds, and others affirmed that they had seene one of those tailes of an hundred and fiftie pounds weight. All the fatte therefore of this beast consisteth in his taile; neither is there any of them to be founde but onely in Tunis and in Egypt.

*Of the Lyon.*

THe Lyon is a most fierce and cruell beast, being hurtfull vnto all other beasts, and excelling them both in strength, courage, and crueltie, neither is he onely a deuourer of beasts, but of men also. In some places one Lyon will boldly encounter two hundred horsemen. They range without all feare among the flocks and droues of cattell, and whatsoeuer beast they can lay holde on, they cary it into the next woode vnto their whelpes: yea some Lyons there are (as I haue before said) that will vanquish and kill fiue or sixe horsemen in one companie. Howbeit such Lyons as liue vpon the colde mountaines are not so outragious and cruell: but the hotter the places be where they keepe, the more rauenous and bolde are they, as namely vpon the frontiers of Temesna, and of the kingdome of Fez, in the desert of Angad neere Telensin, and betweene the citie of Bona and Tunis, all which are accounted the most famous and fierce Lyons in all Africa. In the spring, while they are giuen to lust and venerie, they haue most fierce and bloudie conflicts one with an other, eight or twelue Lions following after one Lyonesse. I haue heard many both men and women report, that if a woman chanceth to meete with a Lyon, and sheweth him her priuie parts, he will with crying and roaringe, cast his eies vpon the grounde and so depart. Beleeue it they that list. But this I am well assured of, that whatsoeuer a Lyon getteth in his pawes, though it be a camell, he will carrie it away. I my selfe was twice in great hazard to haue beene deuoured of Lyons, but by the goodnes of God I escaped them.

*Of the Leopard.*

THese beasts liuing in the woods of Barbarie, will not for all their great strength and crueltie hurt any man, vnlesse it be very seldome, when as they meete with a

man in a narrow passage, and cannot shun him, or when they are checked and prouoked vnto furie: for then they will flie vpon a man, laying holde vpon his visage with their talents, and plucking off so much flesh as they can catch, insomuch that sometimes they will crush his braines in peeces. They inuade not any flockes or droues of tame cattell, but are at deadly feude with dogs, whom they will kill and deuoure. The mountainers of the region of Constantina hunt them on horsebacke, stopping all passages where they might escape. The Leopard ranging vp and downe, and finding euery place so besette with horsemen that he cannot get away, windeth and turneth himselfe on all sides, and so becommeth a fit marke for the hunters to discharge their darts and arrowes vpon. But if the Leopard chanceth to escape, that man that lets him passe, is bounde by an vsuall custome to inuite the residue of the hunters vnto a banquet.

### *Of the beast called Dabuh.*

THis beast called by the Arabians Dabuh, and by the Africans Iesef, in bignes and shape resembleth a woolfe, sauing that his legges and feete are like to the legs and feete of a man. It is not hurtful vnto any other beast, but will rake the carkeises of men out of their graues, and will deuour them, being otherwise an abiect and silly creature. The hunters being acquainted with his denne, come before it singing and playing vpon a drum, by which melodie being allured foorth, his legs are intrapped in a strong rope, and so he is drawne out and slaine.

### *Of the ciuet-cat.*

THese Cattes are naturally wilde, and are found in the woods of Ethiopia. The merchants taking their yoong whelps or kittes, feede them with milke, branne, and flesh, and keepe them in cages or grates. But their odori- *The manner of gathering ciuet.*

ferous excrement (which is nought else but their sweat) they gather twice or thrise euery day in manner following: first they driue them vp and downe the grate with a wande, till they sweate, and then they take the saide sweate from under their flankes, their shoulders, their necks, and their tailes: which excrement of sweate is commonly called ciuit.

### *Of the Ape.*

OF Apes there are diuers and sundrie kindes, those which haue tailes, being called in the African toong Monne, and those which haue none, Babuini. They are found in the woods of Mauritania, and vpon the mountaines of Bugia and Constantina. They represent the shape of man, not onely in their feete and hands, but also in their visages, and are naturally indued with woonderfull witte and subtiltie. They liue vpon grasse and corne, and go in great companies to feede in the corne fieldes, and one of their companie which standeth centinell or keepeth watch and ward vpon the borders, when he espieth the husbandman comming, he crieth out and giueth as it were an alarme to his fellowes, who euery one of them flee immediately into the next woods, and betake themselues to the trees. The shee apes carrie their whelpes vpon their shoulders, and will leape with them in that sort from one tree to another. Such of them as are taught, will do woonderfull feates, but they are angrie and curst, notwithstanding they will soone be appeased.

### *Of the Conies of Africa.*

THere are great store of wilde Conies in Mauritania, and vpon the mountaines of Gumera; which albeit they are accounted wilde, yet in my opinion they seeme tame, for their flesh differeth neither in taste nor colour from the flesh of tame conies.

### *Of the strange fishes of Africa, and first of the fish called Ambara.*

THe fish called Ambara, being of a monstrous shape and bignes, is neuer seen but when it is cast vp dead vpon the sea-shore: and some of these fishes there are which containe twentie fiue cubites in length. The head of this fish is as hard as a stone. The inhabitants of the Ocean sea coast affirme that this fish casteth foorth Amber; but whether the said Amber be the sperma or the excrement therof, they cannot well determine. Howsoeuer it be, the fish may in regard of the hugenes be called a whale. *Amber.*

### *Of the sea-horse.*

THis creature is commonly found in the riuers of Niger and Nilus. In shape it resembleth an horse, and in stature an asse, but it is altogether destitute of haire. It liueth both in the water and vpon the lande, and swimmeth to the shore in the night season. Barkes and botes laden with wares and sayling downe the riuer of Niger are greatly endangered by this sea-horse, for oftentimes he ouerwhelmeth and sinketh them.

### *Of the sea-oxe.*

THe sea-oxe being couered with an exceeding hard skinne is shaped in all respects like vnto the land-oxe; saue that in bignes it exceedeth not a calfe of sixe moneths olde. It is found in both the riuers of Niger and of Nilus; and being taken by fishers, is kept a long time aliue out of the water. I my selfe sawe one at Cairo led up and downe by the neck in a chaine, which (they say) was taken at the city of Asna standing vpon the bank of Nilus, about foure hundred miles from Cairo.

### *Of the Tortoise.*

THis might be numbred among the land-creatures, because it liueth for the most part in the deserts. In the Libyan deserts are found verie many as big as a tunne. And Bicri the Cosmographer in his booke of the regions and Iourneis of Africa reporteth, that a certaine man being weary of trauelling, ascended to his thinking, vpon an high stone lying in the desert, to the end he might free himselfe from the danger of serpents and venemous beasts; who hauing slept soundly thereupon all night found himselfe in the morning remooued three miles from the place where he first lay downe, and thereby vnderstood that it was not a stone but a tortoise wheron he reposed himselfe, which lying still all the day long creepeth for foode in the night-season, but so slowly, that her pace can hardly be perceiued. I my selfe haue seen some of these tortoises, as big as a barrell, but neuer any so huge as the last before mentioned. The flesh of a tortoise not aboue seuen yeres old being eaten seuen daies together is said to be a perfect medicine against the leprosie.

*A medicine for the leprosie.*

### *Of the Crocodile.*

THis cruell and noisome beast commonly frequenteth the riuers of Niger and Nilus, and containeth in length twelue cubites and aboue, the taile thereof being as long as the whole bodie besides, albeit there are but fewe of so huge a bignes. It goeth vpon fower feete like a Lizard, neither is it aboue a cubite and a halfe high. The taile of this beast is full of knots, and the skin thereof is so exceeding hard, that no crossebowe will enter it. Some praie vpon fishes onely, but others vpon beasts and men. Which lurking about the bankes of the riuer, do craftily lay waite for men and beastes that come the same way, about whom suddenly winding their tailes, they draw them

*The craft of the Crocodile in taking both men and beasts.*

into the water, and there deuour them. Howbeit some of them are not so cruell by nature: for if they were, no inhabitants coulde liue neere vnto the riuers of Nilus and Niger. In eating they mooue the vpper iawe onely, their neather iawe being ioined vnto their breast-bone. Not many yeeres sithens, passing vp the riuer of Nilus towards the citie of Cana, standing in the vpper part of Egypt, fower hundred miles from Cairo, on a certaine night whilest wee were in the midst of our iourney, the moone being ouershadowed with clouds, the marriners and passengers all fast a sleepe, and the barke vnder sailes, I my selfe studying by candle-light in my cabben, was called vpon by a deuout olde man in the barke, who bestowed the same night in watching and praier, and saide vnto me, call (I praie you) some of your company, who may helpe me to draw vppe this peece of woode floting vpon the water, which will serue to morrow for the dressing of our dinner. My selfe sir (quoth I) will come and helpe you, rather then wake any of our company in the dead of the night. Nay (quoth the old man) I will trie whether I be able to drawe it vp alone or no. And so when the barke was neere vnto the woode, as he supposed, holding a rope in his hande to cast into the water, he was sodainly intangled with a crocodiles long taile, and was in a moment drawen vnder the water. Whereupon I making a shoute, all the people in the barke arose, and striking sailes wee staide for the space of an hower, diuers in the meane time leaping into the water to seeke the man, but altogither in vaine: and therefore all of them affirmed that he was caught by a crocodile. As we sailed farther we sawe great numbers of crocodiles vpon the bankes of Islands in the midst of Nilus lie beaking them in the sunne with their iawes wide open, whereinto certaine little birdes about the bignes of a thrush entring, came flying foorth againe presently after. The occasion whereof was tolde me to be this: The crocodiles

*Little birds flying into the crocodiles mouth to picke wormes from betweene their teeth.*

by reason of their continuall deuouring of beasts and fishes, haue certaine peeces of flesh sticking fast betweene their forked teeth, which flesh being putrified, breedeth a kind of wormes wherewith they are cruelly tormented. Wherefore the saide birds flying about, and seeing the wormes, enter into the crocodiles iawes, to satisfie their hunger therewith. But the crocodile perceiuing himselfe freed from the wormes of his teeth, offereth to shut his mouth, and to deuour the little birde that did him so good a turne, but being hindred from his vngratefull attempt by a pricke which groweth vpon the birds head, he is constrained to open his iawes and to let her depart. The shee crocodile laying egges vpon the shore, couereth them with sand; and so soone as the yoong crocodiles are hatched, they crawle into the riuer. Those crocodiles that forsake the riuer and haunt the deserts become venemous; but such as continue in Nilus, are destitute of poison. In Egypt there are many that eate of the flesh of the crocodile, and affirme it to be of an excellent taste. His larde or grease is solde very deere at Cairo, and is saide to be very medicinable for olde and cankered woundes. They take the crocodile in manner following; The fishers binding a strong and large rope vnto some tree or poste standing for the nonce vpon the banke of Nilus, fasten vnto the end thereof an iron hooke of a cubite long, and about the thicknes of a mans finger, and vpon the hooke they hang a ramme or a goate, by the bleating noise whereof the crocodile being allured, commeth foorth of the water, and swalloweth vp both the baite and the hooke, wherewithal feeling himselfe inwardly wounded, he strugleth mightily, & beateth the ground, the fishers in the meane time pulling and slacking the rope, till the crocodile falleth down vanquished & dead: then they thrust him in with certaine darts and iauelins vnder the shoulders and flanks where his skin is most tender, and so make a quicke dispatch of him. His backe is so harde

*The manner of taking the crocodile.*

and thicke, that an harquebuse or caliuer will scarce pierce it. Of these beasts I sawe aboue three hundred heads placed vpon the wals of Cana, with their iawes wide open, being of so monstrous and incredible a bignes, that they were sufficient to haue swallowed vp a whole cowe at once, and their teeth were great and sharpe. The Egyptian fishers vse to cut off the heads of crocodiles, and to set them vpon the wals of their cities, and so doe hunters vse the heads of wilde beasts.

*Of the dragon.*

IN the caues of Atlas are founde many huge and monstrous dragons, which are heauie, and of a slowe motion, bicause the midst of their body is grosse, but their necks and tailes are slender. They are most venemous creatures, insomuch that whosoeuer is bitten or touched by them, his flesh presently waxeth soft & weake, neither can he by any meanes escape death.

*Of the Hydra.*

THis serpent being short in proportion of body, and hauing a slender taile and necke, liueth in the Libyan deserts. The poison thereof is most deadly, so that if a man be bitten by this beast, he hath none other remedie, but to cut off the wounded part, before the poison disperseth it selfe into the other members.

*Of the creature called Dub.*

THis creature liuing also in the deserts, resembleth in shape a Lizzard, sauing that it is somewhat bigger, and containeth in length a cubite, and in bredth fower fingers. It drinketh no water at all, and if a man poure any water into the mouth thereof, it presently dieth. It laieth egges in manner of a tortoise, and is destitute of poison. The Arabians take it in the deserts: and I my

selfe cut the throate of one which I tooke, but it bled a very little. Being flaied and rosted, it tasteth somewhat like a frogge. In swiftnes it is comparable to a Lizzard, and being hunted, if it chanceth to thrust the head into an hole, it can by no force be drawne out, except the hole be digged wider by the hunters. Hauing beene slaine three daies togither, and then being put to the fire, it stirreth it selfe as it were newelie dead.

### *Of the Guaral.*

THis beast is like vnto the former, sauing that it is somewhat bigger, and hath poison both in the head and taile, which two parts being cut off, the Arabians will eate it, notwithstanding it be of a deformed shape and vgly colour, in which respects I loathed alwaies to eate the flesh thereof.

### *Of the Camelion.*

THe camelion being of the shape and bignes of a lizzard, is a deformed, crooked, and leane creature, hauing a long and slender tayle like a mouse, and being of a slowe pace. It is nourished by the element of ayer, and the sunbeames, at the rising wherof it gapeth, and turneth it selfe vp and downe. It changeth the colour according to the varietie of places where it commeth, being sometimes black and sometimes greene, as I my selfe haue seen it. It is at great enmity with venemous serpents, for when it seeth any lie sleeping vnder a tree, it presently climeth vp the same tree, and looking downe vpon the serpents head, it voideth out of the mouth as it were, a long threede of spittle, with a round drop like a perle hanging at the end, which drop falling wrong, the camelion changeth his place, till it may light directly vpon the serpents head, by the vertue wherof he presently dyeth. Our African writers haue reported many things concerning the properties and secret qualities of this beast, which at this present I do not wel remember.

*How the camelion killeth the serpent.*

*Of the Ostrich.*

SOmewhat we will here say concerning the strange birdes and fowles of Africa, and first of the ostriche, which in shape resembleth a goose, but that the neck and legges are somewhat longer, so that some of them exceede the length of two cubites. The body of this birde is large, and the winges therof are full of great feathers both white and black, which wings and feathers being vnfitte to fly withall, do helpe the ostriche, with the motion of her traine, to runne a swifte pace. This fowle liueth in dry deserts, and layeth to the number of ten or twelue egges in the sandes, which being about the bignes of great bullets, waigh fifteene pounds a piece; but the ostrich is of so weake a memorie, that shee presently forgetteth the place where her egges were laide. And afterward the same, or some other ostriche-henne finding the said egges by chance, hatcheth and fostereth them as if they were certainly her owne: the chickens are no sooner crept out of the shell, but they prowle vp and downe the deserts for their foode: and before their fethers be growne, they are so swift, that a man shall hardly ouertake them. The ostriche is a silly and deafe creature, feeding vpon any thing which it findeth, be it as hard and vndigestible as yron. The flesh especially of their legges, is of a slymie and strong tast; and yet the Numidians vse it for foode, for they take yong ostriches and set them vp a fatting. The ostriches wander vp and downe the deserts in orderly troupes, so that a far off a man would take them to bee so many horsemen, which illusion hath often dismaied whole carouans. Being in Numidia I my selfe ate of the ostriches flesh, which seemed to haue not altogether an vnsauory tast.

### *Of the Eagle.*

OF eagles there are diuers kindes, according to their naturall properties, the proportion of their bodies, or the diuersitie of their colours: and the greatest kinde of eagles are called in the Arabian toong Nesir. The Africans teach their eagles to pray vpon foxes and woolues; which in their encounter seaze vpon the heads of the saide beasts with their bils, and vpon the backes with their talents, to auoide the danger of biting. But if the beast turne his belly vpwarde, the eagle will not forsake him, till she hath either peckt out his eies, or slaine him. Many of our African writers affirme, that the male eagle oftentimes ingendring with a shee woofe, begetteth a dragon, hauing the beake and wings of a birde, a serpents taile, the feete of a woolfe, and a skin speckled and partie coloured like the skin of a serpent. Neither can it open the eie-lids, and it liueth in caues. This monster albeit my selfe haue not seene, yet the common report ouer all Africa affirmeth that there is such an one.

*A strange narration.*

### *Of the foule called Nesir.*

THis is the greatest foule in all Africa, and exceedeth a crane in bignes, though the bill, necke, and legs are somewhat shorter. In flying this birde mounteth vp so high into the aire, that it cannot be discerned; but at the sight of a dead carkase it will immediately descend. This birde liueth a long time, and I my selfe haue seene many of them vnfeathered by reason of extreme old age: wherefore hauing cast all their feathers, they returne vnto their nest, as if they were newly hatched, and are there nourished by the yoonger birds of the same kinde. The Italians call it by the name of a Vulture, but I thinke it to be of another kinde. They nestle vpon high rockes, and vpon the tops of wilde and desert mountaines, especially vpon mount

Atlas: and they are taken by such as are acquainted with those places.

### *Of the birde called Bezi, or the hauke.*

THis bird called in Latine *Accipiter*, is very common in Africa. But the best African haukes are white, being taken vpon certaine mountaines of the Numidian deserts, and with these haukes they pursue the crane. Of these haukes there are diuers kinds, some being vsed to flie at partriges and quailes, and others at the hare.

### *Of the Bat.*

THese vgly night-birdes are rife all the world ouer: but in certaine caues of Atlas there are many of them founde as bigge and bigger then doues, especially in their winges: which albeit my selfe neuer sawe, yet haue I heard of them by diuers persons.

### *Of the parrat or poppiniay.*

THese parrats are commonly founde in the woods of Ethiopia: but the better sort of them, and such as will imitate mans voice more perfectly, are the greene ones. Parrats there are as big as a doue, of diuers colours, some red, some blacke, and some ash-coloured, which albeit they cannot so fitly expresse mans speech, yet haue they most sweete and shrill voices.

### *Of the locustes.*

OF locustes there are sometimes seene such monstrous swarmes in Africa, that in flying they intercept the sunne-beames like a thicke cloude. They deuoure trees, leaues, fruites, and all greene things growing out of the earth. At their departure they leaue egges behinde them, whereof other yoong locusts breede, which in the places where they are left, will eate and consume al things euen to

the very barke of trees, procuring thereby extreme dearth of corne, especially in Mauritania. Howbeit the inhabitants of Arabia deserta, and of Libya, esteeme the comming of these locusts as a fortunate boading: for seething or drying them in the sun, they bruise them to powder, and so eate them.

And nowe let thus much suffice to haue spoken of the African beastes, foules, fishes, serpents, &c. which are either not to be found in Europe, or such as differ from creatures of the same kinde there. Wherefore hauing once briefly intreated in the chapters following of certaine minerals, trees, and fruits of Africa, I purpose then to conclude this my present discourse.

Whereas mine author *Iohn Leo* intreateth but briefly of these locustes, which God vseth as a most sharp scourge between times to disciple all the nations of Africa; I thought it not vnmeete to adde two other relations or testimonies of the same argument: the one being reuerend in regard of the authors antiquitie; and the other credible and to be accepted, for that the reporter himselfe was a most diligent and faithfull eie-witnes of the same.

## The first testimonie, taken out of the 11. chap. of the fift booke of *Paulus Orosius contra Paganos.*

*Of an huge and pernicious companie of Locusts in Africa, which after they had wasted the countrey, being drowned in the sea, and cast vp dead on the shore, bred a most woonderfull pestilence both of man and beast.*

IN the consulship of *Marcus Plautius Hypsæus*, and *Marcus Fuluius Flaccus*, Africa scarce breathing from bloudie warres, an horrible and extraordinarie destruction ensued. For whereas now throughout all Africa, infinite multitudes of locustes were gathered togither, & had not only quite deuoured the corne on the grounde, and consumed the herbes with part of their rootes, and the leaues and tender boughes of the trees, but had gnawne also the bitter barke and drie woode; being with a violent and sudden winde hoised aloft in mightie swarmes, and carried a long time in the aire, they were at length drowned in the African sea. Whose lothsome and putrified carcases being by the waues of the sea cast vp in huge heapes farre and wide along the shore, bred an incredible stinking & infectious smell: whereupon followed so general a pestilence of al liuing creatures, that the corrupt dead bodies of foules, cattell, and wilde beasts dissolued by the contagion of the aire, augmented the furie of the plague. But how great and extraordinarie a death of men there was, I cannot but tremble to report: for in Numidia, where *Micipsa* was then king, died fowerscore thousand persons; and vpon the sea-coast next adioining

to Carthage and Vtica, aboue two hundred thousand are saide to haue perished. Yea in the citie of Vtica it selfe were by this meanes swept from the face of the earth thirtie thousand braue soldiers which were appointed to be the garrison for all Africa. And the destruction was so sudaine and violent, as they report, that out of one gate of Vtica, in one and the same day, were carried aboue fifteene hundred dead corpes of those lustie yoong gallants. So that by the grace and fauour of almightie God (through whose mercy, and in confidence of whom, I doe speake these things) I may boldly affirme; that albeit sometime in our daies the locusts in diuers parts, and vsually, doe some domage which is tolerable: yet neuer befell there in the time of the Christians so insupportable a mischiefe, as that this scourge of locusts, which being aliue are by no means sufferable, should after their death prooue farre more pernicious: and which also liuing, the fruits of the earth would haue beene quite deuoured; it had beene much better they had neuer died, to the plague and destruction of all earthly creatures. Hitherto *Paulus Orosius.*

The second testimonie taken out of the 32. and 33. chapters of the Ethiopian historie of *Francis Aluarez*, which for the satisfaction of euerie Reader, I haue put downe with all particularities and circumstances.

*Of the great multitude of Locusts, and the infinite domage that they procure in the dominions of* Prete Ianni, *Chap.* 32.

IN this quarter and throughout all the dominion of *Prete Ianni*, there is an horrible and great plague, to wit an innumerable companie of Locustes, which eate and consume the corne, and trees of fruite; and so great is the number of these creatures, as it is not credible, for with the multitude of them the earth is couered, and the aire so ouerspred, as one may hardlie discerne the sunne: and further I affirme, that it is a thing most strange to him who hath not seene it; and if the domage they performe were generall through all the prouinces and kingdomes of *Prete Ianni*, his people woulde die with famine, neither coulde men possiblie there inhabite: But one yeere they destroy one prouince, and the next yeere another prouince: as if for example, they waste the kingdome of Portugall or Castile this yeere, an other yeere they are in the quarters of Lenteio, an other in Estremadura, an other in Beira, or betweene the riuer Dorus and Minius, an other on the mountaines, an other in old Castilia, Aragon or Andaluzia, and otherwhiles in two or three of these prouinces at once; and wheresoeuer they come, the earth is more wasted and destroied by them, then

if it had beene all ouer consumed with a fire. These locusts are as bigge as the greatest grashoppers, hauing yellow wings. Their comming into the countrie is knowne a day before: not for that we can see them, but we know it by the sunne, who is yellow of colour, this being a signe that they draw neere to the countrie, as also the earth looketh yellowe, by reason of the light which reflecteth from their wings: whereupon the people in a manner become presentlie halfe dead, saying, we are vndone, for the Ambati, that is to say, the locustes are come. And I can not forbeare to set downe that which I sawe three sundrie times, and first in Barua, where we had now beene for the space of three yeeres, and heere we heard it saide often, that such a countrey and such a realme was destroied by the Locusts: and being in this prouince we sawe the sunne and the vpper part of the earth looke all yellow, the people being in a manner halfe dead for sorrow: But the day following it was an incredible thing to see the number of these creatures that came, which to our iudgement couered fower and twentie miles of lande, as afterward we were enformed. When this scourge and plague was come, the priestes of that place came and sought me out, requesting me to giue them some remedie for the driuing of them away, and I answered, that I could tel them nothing, but only that they shoulde deuoutly pray vnto God, that he woulde driue them out of the countrie. And so I went to the Ambassadour, and told him, that it would be very good to goe on procession, beseeching God that hee woulde deliuer the countrie, who peraduenture in his great mercie might heare vs. This liked the Ambassadour very well: and the day following we gathered togither the people of the land, with all the priests, and taking the consecrated stone, and the crosse, according to their custome, all we Portugals sung the Letanie, and appointed those of the land, that they should lift up their voices aloud as we did,

saying in their language *Zio marina Christos*, which is as much to say, as Lord God haue mercy vpon vs: and with this manner of inuocation we went ouer a peece of grounde, where there were fieldes of wheate, for the space of a mile, euen to a little hill: and heere I caused many of these locustes to be taken, pronouncing ouer them a certaine coniuration, which I had about me in writing, hauing made it that night, requesting, admonishing, and excommunicating them, enioining them within the space of three howers to depart towards the sea, or the lande of the Moores, or the desert mountaines, and to let the Christians alone: and they not performing this, I summoned and charged the birdes of heauen, the beasts of the earth, and all sorts of tempests, to scatter, destroy, and eate vp their bodies: and to this effect I took a quantitie of locusts, making this admonition to them present, in the behalfe likewise of them absent, and so giuing them libertie, I suffered them to depart. It pleased God to heare vs sinners, for in our returne home, they came so thicke vpon our backes, as it seemed that they woulde haue broken our heads, or shoulders, so hard they strooke against vs, as if we had beene beaten with stones and cudgels, and in this sort they went towards the sea: The men, women, and children remaining at home, were gotten vpon the tops, or tarrasses of their houses, giuing God thankes that the locusts were going away, some afore, and others followed. In the meane while towardes the sea, there arose a great cloude with thunder, which met them full in the teeth, and continued for the space of three howers with much raine, and tempest, that filled all the riuers, and when the raine ceased, it was a fearefull thing to behold the dead Locustes, which were more then two * yardes in height vpon the bankes of the riuers, and in some riuers there were mightie heapes of them, so that the morning following there was not one of them found alive vpon the earth. The

*A strange exorcisme.*

* *Or fathomes.*

people of the places adioining hearing this, came in great numbers to enquire how this matter was effected; many of the inhabitants said, these Portugals be holy men, and by the power of their God, they haue killed and driuen away the locusts: others saide, especially the priests and friers of those places neere about, that we were witches, and by power of enchantments had driuen away the saide creatures, and that for this cause we feared neither lions, nor any other wilde beast: Three daies after this effect, there came vnto vs a Xuum, that is, a captaine of a place called Coiberia, with men, priests, and friers, to request vs, that we woulde for the loue of God helpe them, saying that they were in a manner destroied by the locustes; and that place was a daies iourney off towards the sea. They came to vs about euening, and at the same instant, I and fower other Portugals departed awaie with them, we went all night, and came thither an hower within daie, where we found, that all those of the countrey, with many of the other places adioining were assembled togither, for they were also molested by the locusts. And assoone as we were come, we went our procession rounde about the land, which was seated vpon an high hill, from whence we might discerne manie countries and places all yellow by reason of the multitude of locusts. Such inuocations and ceremonies being ended, as we performed in the other place, we went to dinner, & the men that were borderers, requested vs to goe with them, promising vs great rewardes: It pleased God, that as soon as we had dined, we saw all the earth so cleared that there was not soe much as one locust to be seene: The people seeing this and not being satisfied with the fauour and grace receiued, they requested vs to goe and blesse their possessions, for they were yet afraid least the locusts would returne; and so wee departed.

*Of the dommage we sawe done in another prouince by the Locustes, in two sundrie places.*
*Chap.* 33.

AN other time also we sawe the Locustes, being in a towne called Abuguna: *Prete Ianni* sent vs to this towne which is in the kingdome of Angote, and distant from Barua, where we continued, thirtie daies iourney, to the ende that there we might be furnished with victuals: Being come thither, I went with the Ambassadour *Zagazabo*, who came into Portugall, and fiue Genoueses, towards a certain towne & a moũtaine called Aguoan, & we trauailed fiue daies through places all desert & destroied, which places were sowen with Maiz, hauing stalkes as great as those props which we vse about our vines, and we might see them all broken and troden vnderfoote, as if there had beene a tempest, and this had the locusts done. Their wheate, barley, and Taffo da guza were so eaten, as it seemed they neuer had beene either tilled or sowne. The trees were without leaues, and their barkes all gnawne & eaten, and there was not so much as a spire of grasse, for they had deuoured every thing; and if we had not beene aduised, and foreseene the same (for when we departed, we laded our mules with victuals) we and our beastes had died togither for hunger. The countrey was couered all ouer with winglesse locustes; and they saide, that those were the seede of them, which had deuoured all, and that when they had gotten wings, they would go seeke out the rest, the number of these was so great, as I am loath to report, bicause I shoulde not perhaps be credited: but this I may well affirme, that I sawe men, women, and children, sit as it were amazed amongst these locusts, and I saide vnto them, why sit you thus halfe dead, and doe not kill these creatures, and so reuenge your selues of the wrong, that their fathers and mothers haue done you, or at least that

those which you kill may be able to doe you no more harme? They answered, that they had not the hart, to withstand the scourge of God which hee had sent vpon them for their sins: And all the people of this place departed hence, so that we found the waies full of men and women on foot, with their children in their armes, and vpon their heads, going into other countries, where they might finde victuall, and it was great pittie to behold them. We being in the saide prouince of Abuguna, in a place called Aquate, there came such swarmes of locustes as were innumerable: which one day began to fall vpon the grounde about nine of the clocke in the morning, and ceased not while night; where they lighted, there they staide, and then the next day in the morning went away: so that at three of the clocke in the afternoone there was not one of them to be seene, and in this short time they left the trees vtterly destitute of leaues. On the same day and hower there came an other squadron, and these left neither tree nor bough vngnawen and eaten, and thus did they for fiue days one after another: they said that those were yoong ones which went to seeke their fathers, and they did the like, as those we sawe without wings: the space that these locustes tooke vp, was nine miles, for which circuit there remained neither barke nor leaues vpon the trees, & the countrey looked not as though it had bin burnt, but as though it had snowed thereupon, and this was by reason of the whitenes of the trees which were pilled bare by the Locustes, and the earth was all swept cleane: It was Gods will that the haruest was alreadie in: wee coulde not vnderstande which way they afterwards went, bicause they came from the sea warde, out of the kingdome of Daucali, which belongeth to the Moores, who are continually in warre, as also we coulde by no meanes knowe the ende of their iourney or course. Thus much out of *Francis Aluarez.*

*Of the minerals: And first of minerall salt.*

THe greater part of Africa hath none other salt but such as is digged out of quarries & mines, after the maner of marble or free stone, being of a white, red, and graie colour. Barbarie aboundeth with salt, and Numidia is indifferently furnished therewith: but the lande of Negros, and especially the inner part of Ethiopia, is so destitute thereof, that a pound of salt is there solde for halfe a ducate. And the people of the saide regions vse not to set salt vpon their tables; but holding a crum of salte in hands, they licke the same at euery morsell of meate which they put in their mouthes. In certaine lakes of Barbarie all the sommer time there is faire and white salt congealed or kerned, as namely in diuers places neere vnto the citie of Fez.

*Of the minerall called Antimonie.*

THis minerall growing in many places of Africa in the lead-mines is separated from the lead by the helpe of brimstone. Great plentie of this minerall is digged out of the bottome of mount Atlas, especially where Numidia bordereth vpon the kingdome of Fez. Brimstone likewise is digged in great abundance out of other places of Africa.

*Of Euphorbium.*

EVphorbium is the iuice or gumme of a certaine herbe growing like the head of a wilde thistle, betweene the branches wherof grow certain fruits as big in compasse as a greene cucumber; after which shape or likenes it beareth certain little graines or seedes; and some of the said fruits are an elle long, and some are longer. They grow not out of the branches of the herbe but spring out of the firme ground, and out of one flag you shall see sometimes 20. and sometimes 30. of them issue foorth. The

people of the same region, when the said fruits are once ripe, do prick them with their kniues, and out of the holes proceedeth a liquor or iuice much like vnto milke, which by little and little, groweth thick and slimy. And so being growen thick, they take it off with their kniues, putting it in bladders & drying it. And the plant or herb it selfe is full of sharp prickles.

### *Of Pitch.*

OF pitch there are two kindes, the one being naturall, and taken out of certaine stones, which are in fountaines; the water wherof retaineth the vnsauorie smell and tast of the same; and the other being artificial, and proceeding out of the iuniper or pine-tree: and this artificiall pitch I saw made vpon mount Atlas in manner following. They make a deepe and round furnace with an hole in the bottome, through which hole the pitch may fall downe into an hollow place within the ground being made in form of a little vessel: and putting into the said furnace the boughes of the foresaid trees broken into small pieces, they close vp the mouth of the furnace, and make a fire vnder it, by the heate wherof the pitch distilleth forth of the wood through the bottome of the furnace into the foresaide hollow place: and so it is taken vp and put in bladders or bagges.

### *Of the fruite called Maus or Musa.*

THis fruite growing vpon a smal tree which beareth large and broade leaues of a cubite long, hath a most excellent and delicate taste, and springeth forth about the bignes of a small cucumber. The Mahumetan doctours affirme, that this was the fruite which God forbad our first parents to eat in Paradise, which when they had eaten they couered their nakednes with leaues of the same fruit, as being of all other leaues most meete for that purpose.

They grew in great abundance at Sela a towne of the kingdome of Fez; but in farre greater plenty in the land of Egypt, and especially at Damiata.

### *Of Cassia.*

THe trees bearing Cassia are of great thicknes, hauing leaues like vnto the mulberie-tree. They bear a broad and white blossome, and are so laden with fruits, that they are constrained to gather great store before they be ripe, least the tree should breake with ouermuch waight. And this kinde of tree groweth onely in Egypt.

### *Of the fruit called Terfez.*

TErfez is to be called rather by the name of a root then of a fruit, and is like vnto a mushrom or toad-stoole, but that it is somewhat bigger. It is enclosed with a white rinde and groweth in hot and sandy places. Where it lyeth, it may easilie be perceiued by the swelling and opening of the ground. Some of them are as bigge as a walnut, and others as a limon. The phisicians, which call it Camha, affirme it to be a refrigeratiue or cooling fruit. It groweth in great plentie vpon the Numidian deserts, and the Arabians take as great delight in eating of the same as in eating of sugar. This fruit being stued vpon the coles, and afterward made cleane, and sodden in fat broath they esteeme for great dainties. Also the Arabians seeth it in water and milk, and so eat it. It groweth likewise plentifullie in the sandes neare vnto the towne of Sela. Of the date or palme-tree, because we haue sufficiently spoken in our description of Segelmesse in Numidia, we will here in this place say nothing at all.

*Of the Egyptian figg called by the Egyptians themselues Giumeiz.*

THe tree of this figg resembleth other fig-trees both in outward forme and in leaues, but it is of an exceeding height: neither doth the fruit grow among the leaues, or vpon the ends of the twigs, but out of the very body of the tree, where no leaues at all grow. These figs tast like vnto other figes, but they haue a thicker skin and are of a tawnie colour.

*Of the tree called Ettalche.*

IT is an high and a thornie tree, hauing such leaues as the iuniper hath, and bearing a gum like vnto mastick, wherwith the African apothecaries vse to mingle and adulterate their mastick, because it hath the same colour and yealdeth some smell also. There are found likewise such trees in the Numidian and Lybian deserts and in the land of Negros: but the trees of Numidia being cut in the midst, consist of white wood like vnto the trees beforenamed, and the Lybian trees of a brownie or tawnie wood, but the trees of the land of Negros are extreame black within. And that black pith or hart of this tree, wherof musical instruments are made, is called by the Italians Sangu. That wood which is of the browne or tawnie colour is vsed by the African phisicians for the curing of the French poxe, whereupon it is commonly called by the name of pock-wood.

*Of the root called Tauzarghente.*

THis root growing in the westerne part of Africa vpon the Ocean sea shore, yeeldeth a fragrant and odoriferous smel. And the merchants of Mauritania carry the same into the land of Negros, where the people vse it for a most

excellent perfume, and yet they neither burne it nor put any fire at all thereto: for being kept onely in an house, it yeeldeth a naturall sent of it selfe. In Mauritania they sell a bunche of these rootes for halfe a ducate, which being carried to the land of Negros is sold again for eightie or one hundred ducates and sometimes for more.

*Of the roote called Addad.*

THe herbe thereof is bitter, and the roote it selfe is so venemous, that one drop of the water distilled therout, will kill a man within the space of an hower, which is commonly knowen euen to the women of Africa.

*Of the root called Surnag.*

THis roote growing also vpon the westerne part of mount Atlas, is said to be verie comfortable and preseruative vnto the priuie parts of man, & being drunk in an electuarie, to stir vp venereal lust, &c. Neither must I here omit that which the inhabitants of mount Atlas do commonly report, that many of those damosels which keepe cattel vpon the said mountaines haue lost their virginity by none other occasion, but by making water vpon the said roote: vnto whom I would in merriment answere, that I beleeued all which experience had taught concerning the secret vertue of the same roote. Yea they affirmed moreouer, that some of their maidens were so infected with this roote, that they were not only deflowred of their virginitie, but had also their whole bodies puffed vp and swolne.

THese are the things memorable and woorthie of knowledge, seene and obserued by me *Iohn Leo*, throughout al Africa, which countrey I haue in * all places traueiled quite ouer: wherein whatsoeuer I sawe woorthy the obseruation, I presently committed to writing: and those things which I sawe not, I procured to be at large declared

* *That is, in Barbarie, Numidia, Libya, the lande of Negros, and Egypt.*

vnto me by most credible and substantiall persons, which were themselues eie-witnesses of the same: and so hauing gotten a fitte oportunitie, I thought good to reduce these my trauels and studies into this one volume.

*Written at Rome in the yeere of Christ* 1526. *and vpon the tenth of March.*

Heere endeth the description of Africa written by *Iohn Leo*, borne in Granada, and brought vp in Barbarie.

# A briefe relation concerning the *dominions, reuenues, forces, and maner of gouernment of sundry the greatest princes either inhabiting within the bounds of Africa, or at least possessing some parts thereof, translated, for the most part, out of Italian.*

Fricke hath euer beene the least knowen and haunted parte in the world, chiefly by reason of the situation thereof vnder the torride Zone; which the ancients thought to be vnhabitable. Whose opinion, although in verie deede it is not true, bicause we knowe that betweene the two Tropickes there are most fruitefull countries, as namely Abassia, and the kingdomes of Angola, & Congo, with all India, new Spaine, and Brasile; yet neither is it altogither false: For no part of the world hath greater deserts, nor vaster wildernes, then this of Africa. These deserts, which extend themselues from the Atlanticke Ocean euen vnto the borders of Egypt, for more then a thousand miles, and runne out sometimes two hundred, and otherwhiles 300. miles in bredth, diuide Africke into two parts: whereof the southerly part was neuer throughly knowne to the people of Europe, as also Atlas, which diuideth Numidia from Africa the lesse, is some impediment to the same: And towards the east it seemeth that nature also ment to conceale the same, by those deserts that lye bewixt the Red sea and the lande of Egypt. In the first times after the floud we finde mention

very often made of the kingdomes of Egypt, and Ethiopia: and as for Ethiopia the notice we had thereof, was but obscure and confused: But Egypt, by reason of the commodious situation thereof betweene the Mediterran, and the Red seas, hath alwaies beene renowmed and famous: yea king *Sesostris* that Egyptian monarch enlarged his empire from the Atlantick Ocean, euen to the Euxine sea: Afterwards the kings of Numidia, & Mauritania, & the Carthaginians flourished in those prouinces which are bounded by the Mediterran sea. In our times, wherein all Africke hath beene and is daily enuironed, there is sufficient knowledge had of the Marine parts thereof, but for the inland prouinces there is not so much knowne as might be, rather through want of writers then for default of discouerie & trade. Now therfore leauing those parts of Africa which are possessed by the Turke and the king of Spaine, to a briefe narration in the last place, we haue reduced al the residue of our relations to three princes: that is, to *Prete Ianni*, the *Monomotopa*, and the *Xeriffo*, who is king of Maroco and Fez; for the rest referring you to *Iohn Leo*, and the discourse prefixed before him: the *Xeriffo* raigneth betweene Atlas and the Atlanticke Ocean; *Prete Ianni* about the center of Africke: and the *Monomotapa* hath his Empire towards the Sinus Barbaricus, or the Barbarian gulphe.

### *The Empire of Prete Ianni.*

THe Empire of *Prete Ianni* answereth not certainly in effect, (although it be very large) vnto the fame and opinion which the common sort, and most writers haue of it: For lateliest of any other *Horatio Malugucci* in a certaine discourse of his, touching the greatnes of states at this day, would needes haue his dominion to be greater then any other princes, but the king of Spaine. I confesse indeede, that in times past his state had most ample and

large confines, as may be iudged by the multitude of kingdomes, with which he adorneth and setteth foorth his stile; for he entitleth himselfe king of Goiame, a kingdome seated beyond Nilus, and of Vangue, and Damut situate beyond Zaire: and yet it is at this day euidently knowne, that his Empire scarcely reacheth vnto Nilus: yea and *Iohn Barros* writeth, that the Abassins haue little notice of that riuer, by reason of the mountaines lying betweene them and it. The hart or center of his state, is the lake Barcena: for on the east it extendeth from Suaquen, as farre as the entrance of the Red sea, for the space of an hundred and two and twentie leagues: howbeit betwixt the Red sea and it, there thwarteth a long ranke of mountaines, inhabited by the Moores, who also commaund the sea-coast. On the west it hath another ridge of mountaines along the channell of Nilus, enhabited by the Gentiles, who pay tribute vnto the *Prete*. On the north it confineth with an imaginarie line drawne from Suaquen to the furthest part of the isle of Meroe, which is an hundred and fiue and twentie leagues long: From hence it maketh as it were a bow, but not very crooked, towards the south, euen to the kingdome of Adel, (from the mountaines whereof springeth that riuer which *Ptolomey* calleth Raptus, and placeth to the south of Melinde) for the space of two hundred and thirtie leagues; all which distance is bordered vpon by the Gentiles: from whence it turneth and endeth eastward at the kingdome of Adel, whose head citie is Arar, in the northerly latitude of nine degrees: So that this whole empire, little more or lesse, amounteth to sixe hundred threescore and twelue leagues in circuite: The countrie (which is distinguished with ample plaines, pleasant hils, and high mountaines, most of them manurable, and well inhabited) bringeth foorth barley and myll (for it aboundeth not greatly with other sortes of graine) and likewise Taffo da guza, another good and durable seede: But

there is mill, and Zaburro (which we call the graine of India, or Ginnie wheate) great plenty, with al sorts of our pulse, and some also vnknowen to vs. Some of them weare clothes of cotton: but the greater part are clad in sheeps skinnes, and those which are more honourable, in the skins of Lyons, Tigres, and Ounces. They haue all kindes of our domesticall creatures, as hennes, geese, and such like, as also abundance of kine, and wild swine, harts, goats, hares, but no conies, besides panthers, lyons, Ounces, and elephants. To conclude, there cannot be a countrie more apt then this, for the generation and increase of all plants and creatures. True it is, that it hath little helpe or furtherance by the industrie of the inhabitants, because they are of a sloathfull dul nature, and capacitie. They haue flaxe, and yet make no cloath, sugar canes, and know not the arte of getting the sugar thereout; yron, and haue no vse thereof, but to take all smithes to be negromancers: They haue riuers, and waters, and know not how to better their possessions by them. They conceaue not greatly of hunting or fishing: whereupon the fieldes are full of birdes and wild beastes, and the riuers and lakes, of fish. An other reason of their slacknes and negligence, is the euill intreatie of the communaltie by those of the mightier sort: for the poore seeing euery thing taken from them that they haue, sow no more, then verie necessity vrgeth them vnto. Their speech also is without any rule or prescription, and to write a letter, requireth a great assembly of men, and many dayes to deliberate thereon. The nobles, cittizens, and peasants liue distinctly and apart, and any of these may purchase nobility by some famous, or worthie act. The first borne inherite all things.

There is not in all the countrie a castel, or fortified place, for they thinke as the Spartanes did, that a country should be mayntained and defended by force of armes, and not with rampires of earth or stone. They dwell for the most

part dispersed in townes and villages. Their trade of marchandise is performed by exchanging one thing for another, supplying the ouerplus of their prises with wheat or salt: pepper, incense, myrrhe, & salt, they sell for the waight in gold. In their bargaines they vse gold also, but by waight, siluer is not ordinary among them. Their greatest city is the Princes court, which is neuer firme and resident in one place, but remoueth here & there, and remaineth in the open fieldes vnder tentes. This courte comprehendeth ten, or more miles in compasse.

*His gouernment.*

PRete Ianni his gouernment is very absolute, for he holdeth his subiects in most base seruitude, and no lesse the noble and great, then those of meaner qualitie and condition, intreating them rather like slaues, then subiects: and the better to doe this, he maintaineth him selfe amongst them in the reputation of a sacred and diuine person. Al men bow at the name of the Prince, and touch the earth with their hand: they reuerence the tent wherein he lyeth, and that when he is absent also. The *Pretes* in times past were wonte to be seene of the people but onely once in three yeeres space, and afterwardes they shewed themselues thrice in a yeere, that is on Christmas, and Easter daye, as also on holy Rood day in September. *Panusius* who now raigneth, albeit he is growen more familiar then his predecessors, yet when any commission commeth from him, the partie to whom it is directed heareth the wordes thereof naked, from the girdle vpward, neither putteth he on his apparrell, but when the king permitteth him. The people though they bind it with an oath, yet do they seldome speake truth, but when they sweare by the kinges life, who giueth and taketh away, what great signiorie it pleaseth him, neither may he, from whom it is taken, so much as shew him selfe agreeued therewith. Except the

giuing of holy orders and the administration of the sacraments, he disposeth as well of the religious as of the laye sort, and of their goodes.

On the way he rideth, enuironed with high and long red curtaynes, which compasse him on euery side. He weareth vsually vpon his head, a crowne halfe gold, halfe siluer, and a crosse of siluer in his hand: his face is couered with a peece of blew taffata, which he lifteth vp, or letteth downe, more or lesse, according as he fauoreth them that he treateth withall: and sometimes he only sheweth the end of his foot, which he putteth forth from under the said curtaines. They that carrie and returne ambassages, come not to his curtaine, but with long time, diuers ceremonies, and sundry obseruations. None hath slaues but himselfe, to whome euery yeere his subiects come to do homage. This prince (as the Abassins report) descendeth from a sonne of *Salomon*, & the Queen of *Saba*, called *Meilech:* they receiued the faith vnder Queene *Candaces*, in whose time the familie of Gaspar began to raigne and flourish in Ethiopia, and from him after thirteene generations came *Iohn* called the holie. This man about the time of *Constantinus* the Emperor, because he had no children, leauing the kingdome to his brother *Caius* eldest sonne, he inuested *Baltasar*, and *Melchior*, younger brothers, one in the kingdome of Fatigar, and the other in Giomedi: whereupon the royall blood grew to be deuided into three families, namely that of Baltasar, that of Gaspar, and the third Melchior, ordayning that the Empire aboue all others should be giuen by election to some of the foresaid families, soe it were not to the eldest borne. For these first borne there were particular kingdomes appointed. And to auoide scandale aud tumult, hee decreed that the Emperours brothers with his neerest kindred should be enclosed as in a strong castell, within * mount Amara; where he would also haue the Emperours sonnes to be put, who cannot

* *Of this mountaine read in the discourse before the beginning of Leo.*

succeed in the Empire, nor haue any state at all, for which cause the Emperour ordinarily marrieth not at all.

*His forces both in reuenues and people.*

HE hath two kindes of reuenues, for one consisteth in the fruits of his possessions, which he causeth to be manured by his slaues, and oxen. These slaues multiplie continuallie, for they marrie among themselues and their sonnes remaine in the condition of their progenitors. An other great reuenue cõmeth of his tributes, which are brought vnto him, from all those that hold dominion vnder him. And of these, some giue horses, some oxen, some gold, some cotton, and others other thinges. It is thought he hath great treasure as well of cloaths and iewels, as of gold, and also that he hath treasuries and large magazins of the same riches, so that writing once to the king of Portugal, he offered to giue for the maintenance of war against the Infidels, an hundred thousand drams of gold, with infinite store of men and victuall. They say, that he putteth ordinarilie euerie yeere into the castel of Amara, the value of three millions of ducates. It is true, that before the dayes of King Alexander they layde not vp so much golde, because they knew not how to purifie it: but rather iewels and wedges of gold. Also his commings-in may be said to bee of three sorts: for some he raiseth as it were, out of his crowne-landes: another part he leuieth of the people, that pay him so much for an house, and the tenth of all those mines that are digged by others then by himselfe: and a third reuenue he draweth from his tributarie princes and gouernours: and these giue him the entire reuenues of one of their cities, so as he choose not that city wherein they make their residence. But though his wealth and reuenues be great, yet are his people of little worth, as well because he holdeth them in the estimation of slaues, by meanes whereof they want that generositie

of minde, which maketh men ready to take vp armes, & to be couragious in dãgers: as also it seemeth they haue euer their handes bound with that awefull reuerence which they beare towards their Prince, and the feare they haue of him: and further, in that they haue no armes of defence but bad headpeeces, halfe sculles, and coats of maile, carried thither by the Portugals. Hereunto may be added his want of fortresses: for neither hauing strong places whither to retire, nor armes to defend themselues; they and their townes remaine as a pray to the enemie; their offensiue armes being vnfeathered arrowes, and some darts. They haue a lent of fiftie daies continuance, which through the great abstinence, wherein they passe all that time, doth so weaken and afflict them, that neither for those daies, nor many other following, they haue the strength to stirre abroad: whereupon the Moores attend this opportunitie, and assaile them with great aduantage. *Francis Aluares* writeth, that *Prete Ianni* can bring into the field an hundred thousand men: neuerthelesse in time of neede it hath beene seene, that he could make nothing so many. He hath a militarie religion, or order of knighthood, vnder the protection of Saint *Anthonie*, whereunto euerie noble man must ordaine one of euery three male children, but not the eldest. And out of these are constituted twelue thousand knights or gentlemen for the kings guarde. The ende of this order is, to defend the confines of the empire, and to make head against the enimies of the faith.

### *Princes confining vpon the Prete Ianni.*

THis Prince, as farre as we can certainly vnderstand, confineth especially with three other mightie princes: one is the king of Borno; another the great Turke; and the third the king of Adel. The king of Borno ruleth ouer that countrey which extendeth from Guangara towards the east, about fiue hundred miles, betweene the deserts of Seu,

and Barca, being of an vneeuen situation, bicause it is partly mountainous, and partly plaine. In the plaines there dwelleth a very ciuill people in populous and much frequented villages, by reason of the abundance of graine, as also there is some concourse of merchants thither. On the mountaines, shepheardes of great and smal beasts do inhabite, and their chiefe sustenance is mill: They lead a brutish life, without religion, with their wiues and children in common: They vse no other proper names, but those which are taken from the qualitie or forme of mens persons: the lame, the squint eied, the long, the stuttering. This king of Borno is most mightie in men, vpon whom he laieth no other imposition but the tenth of their fruits; their profession is to robbe and steale from their neighbours, and to make them slaues: in exchange of whom, they haue of the merchants of Barbarie, horses. He hath vnder him many kingdomes, and people, partly white, and partly blacke. He molesteth the Abassines exceedingly with theftes, leadeth away their cattell, robbeth their mines, & maketh their men slaues. They fight on horse-backe after the Gynnet fashion, they vse lances with two heads, & darts & arrowes: they assaile a countrey sometimes in one part, and otherwhiles in another, suddenly: but these may rather be termed theeues and robbers then right enimies.

The Turke confineth with Abassia on the east; as likewise the king of Adel, who hemmeth it in betweene the east and the south. They disturbe the *Prete* exceedingly, restraining the limites of his Empire, and bringing his countrey into great miserie: For the Turkes besides the putting of a great part of Barnagasso to sacke and spoile; (vpon which they entred the yeere of our Lord, 1558.) although they were driuen out againe, haue further taken all that from the *Prete* which he possessed on the sea coast: especiallie the portes and townes of Suaquen and Ercoco: In which two places, the mountaines lying betwixt Abassia

and the red sea, doe open, and make a passage, for conueiance of victual, and trafficke, betweene the Abassins, and the Arabians: And it is not long, since the Lord *Barnagasso* was constrained to accord with the Turke, and to buie the peace of his countrie with the tribute of a thousand ounces of gold by the yeere. Also the king of *Adel* procureth hym no lesse molestation: This man confineth with the kingdome of Fatigar, and extendeth his dominion euen to the Red sea, where he hath Assum, Salir, Meth, Barbora, Pidar, and Zeila. At Barbora manie shippes of Aden and Cambaia arriue with their marchandize for exchange; from whence they receiue much flesh, honie, wax, and victuals for Aden; and gold, Iuorie, and other thinges for Cambaia. A greater quantitie of victuall is carried from Zeila, because there is aboundance of waxe, and honie, with corne and diuers fruites, which are laden for Aden, and for Arabia, and beastes also, as namely sheepe, with tayles wayghing more then fiue and twentie poundes, with their heads and necks all blacke, but the rest of them is white: as also certaine other all white with tayles a fathome long, and writhen like a vine branche, hauing thropples vnder their throtes like bulles. There be also certaine kine with branched hornes like to wild hartes, being blacke in colour and some others red, with one onely horne vpon their foreheads of an handfull and an halfe long, turning backward. The chiefe city of this kingdome is Arar eight and thirtie leagues from Zeila towards the South east. This king being a Mahumetan by a perpetuall profession of making war against the christians of Abassia, who are the subiects of the *Prete*, hath obteined of those Barbarians the surname of Holy: He stayeth his oportunitie while the Abassins be weakened, and brought downe with that long and hard fast of fiftie daies, when they can scarcely go about their domesticall affaires; and then he entreth into the countrey, sacketh the townes, leadeth the people away into seruitude,

and doth a thousand iniuries vnto them. The Abassin slaues are of great valew out of their owne countrey: whereupon the bordering, and other Princes both farre and neere esteeme them much, and many of them by meanes of their industrie in seruice, of slaues haue become captaines and great Commanders, in Arabia, Cambaia, Bengala, and Sumatra: Bicause the Mahumetan princes of the east, being all tirants ouer kingdomes vsurped from the Gentiles, for securitie of their state, put no trust in their owne subiects: but arme themselues with a multitude of strange slaues, to whom they commit their persons, and the gouernment of their kingdome. And among all other slaues the Abassines beare away the bell, aswell for fidelitie, as for sound and good complexion. And bicause the king of Adel, with the multitude of these Abassin slaues, which he taketh in the townes and territories of *Prete Ianni*, filleth all Egypt, and Arabia (in exchange of whom he hath armour, munition, and soldiers, both from the Turke, and the Arabian Princes) in the yeere of our Lord 1550. *Claudius* king of Abassia, being after this sort sorely oppressed by *Gradaamed* king of Adel, who now for the space of fowerteene yeeres had with continuall incursions greeuously molested, and disturbed him, enforcing him to leaue his confines, and to retire into the hart of his empire, demaunded aide of *Stephano Gama*, the Indian Viceroy of *Iohn* the third king of Portugale, who was then with a good fleete vpon the red sea. Whereupon he sent him fower hundred Portugals, with a good quantitie of armes, and small shot, vnder the gouernment of *Christopher da Gama* his brother. With these men by the benefit of shot, he ouerthrew the enimie in two battailes; but in the third, the king of Adel hauing receiued a thousand Turkish harquebuziers from the gouernour of Zebit, with ten peeces of artillerie, the Abassins were put to flight, and discomfited, and their captaine taken prisoner, and put to death. But the king

of Adel afterwards sending backe the said Turkes, he and his people were sodainly assailed, neere the riuer of Zeila, and mount Saual, by king *Claudius* with threescore thousand foote, and fiue hundred Abassin horse, togither with those Portugales, who remained of the former ouerthrow, one of whom wounded *Gradamed* dangerously. But in the moneth of March, the yeere of our Lord 1559. king *Claudius* being set vpon againe by the *Malacui* Mores, he was slaine in the battaile: and the enimie king acknowledging so great a victorie from the handes of God, triumphed vpon an asse.

*Adamas* brother vnto king *Claudius* succeeded him, against whom (for he was halfe a Mahumetan) the best part of the Abassine nobilitie rebelled, and he was defeated by the Barnagasso in the yeere 1562. who hauing thus for a while disturbed the affaires of Ethiopia, it seemed that they were at length asswaged, & reestablished vnder *Alexander*, by the aide of the Portugals, who haue carried thither armes as well of offence, as defence, and stirred vp the mindes and courages of the Abassines, by their example, to warre; For all those that remained of the discomfiture giuen to *Christopher Gama*, and diuers others which came thither afterwards, and do daily there arriue and stare, do marrie wiues, and haue children; and *Alexander* permitted them to elect a iudge, who might execute iustice among them: so that they haue, and do daily bring into Abassia, the manner of warfare in Europe, with our vse of armes, and the manner of fortifying passages and places of importance. Afterwards certaine Florentines went into those countries, partly vpon pleasure, and partly for affaires of merchandize. For *Francesco di Medici* great Duke of Florence, had some commerce with the Abassines. The *Prete* therefore glues entertainment, and maketh much of the Frankes, (for so do they call the people of Europe) and hardly giueth them license to depart out of his kingdome.

Besides these the *Prete Ianni* hath diuers other enimies, amongst whom is the king of Dancali, to whom the towne and port of Vela vpon the red sea pertaineth; he confineth with Balgada. The Moores also vexe him greatly, which inhabite the prouince, called Dobas, deuided into fowerteene Signiories; for though they be within the confines of *Prete Ianni* his empire, yet notwithstanding for the most part they rebell from him: they haue a lawe, that none of them may marrie, before he first giue testimoniall that he hath slaine twelue Christians.

## *Of the Emperour of Monomotapa.*

CONcerning the state of this mightie Emperour, and of his neighbour of Mohenemugi, and of the limits of both their dominions, as likewise of the Amazones and Giacchi the chiefe strength of their militarie forces, and other memorable matters; to auoide tedious repetitions, I referre the reader to the discourse going before the booke: saue onely that I will heere annexe a briefe testimony out of Osorius lib. 4. de reb. gest. Eman. which may adde some small light vnto the treatise before mentioned.

But (saith he) in this part of Ethiopia lying beyond the cape of good hope which is bounded by the south Ocean, there is a most ample kingdome called Benomotapa, whereunto before such time as the Portugals discouered those parts, all the kings vpon that coast were most obedientlie subiect. It abundeth with gold beyond all credite: which is taken euen out of their riuers and lakes. Yea many kings there are which pay yeerely tribute of gold vnto this king of Benomotapa. The people worship no Idols, but acknowledge one God the creatour of heauen and earth. In habite and apparell they are not much vnlike to other Ethiopians. They worship their king with woonderfull superstition. This king in his scutcheon or coate of armes hath two signes of maiestie. One is a certaine little spade

*Benomotapa most rich in gold.*

*The kings armes.*

with a handle of iuorie. The other are two small dartes. By the spade he exhorteth his subiects to husbandrie, that they may not through sloth and negligence let the earth lie vntilled, and so for want be constrained to play the theeues. The one of his darts betokeneth, that he will be a seuere punisher of malefactors; & the other, that he will by valour & force of armes resist all forren inuasions. The sonnes of his tributarie kings are trained vp in his court; both to the end that by this education they may learne loialtie and loue towards him their soueraigne, and also that they may remaine as pledges to keepe their fathers in awe and due obedience. He is continually guarded with a mightie armie; notwithstanding he be conioined in most firme league with all his neighbour-princes. For by this meanes he supposeth that warre cannot procure him any danger at all, knowing right well that oftentimes in the midst of peace it is readie to disturbe the securitie of Princes. Euery yeere this king sendeth certaine of his courtiers and seruants to bestow in his name newe fire vpon all the princes and kings within his dominions, that from them it may be distributed vnto others also. Which is done in manner following. The messenger being come to the house of any prince, his fire is immediately quenched. Then there is a new fire kindled by the messenger: and foorthwith all the neighbours resort thither to fetch of the said new fire for their houses. Which whosoeuer refuseth to performe, is helde as a traiterous rebell, and receiueth such punishment as is liable to high treason; yea if need be, an armie is leuied to apprehend him, to the end that being taken, he may be put to such torments as are correspondent to his disloialtie. Hitherto *Osorius*.

*A discreet course.*

*A yeerely superstitious custome of distributing fire from the king to his tributarie princes.*

## *The Xeriffo, commonly called The king of Maroco, Sus, and Fez.*

AMong all the princes of Africa, I suppose that there is not anie one, who in richnes of state, or greatnes of power, may be preferred before the Zeriffo: In that his dominion, which comprehendeth all that part of Mauritania, called by the Romaines Tingitana, extendeth it selfe north & south from Capo Boiador, euen to Tanger, and east and west from the Atlanticke Ocean, as farre as the riuer Muluia, and somewhat further also, in which space is comprehended the fairest, fruitfullest, best inhabited, and most ciuill part of all Africk, and among other the states, the most famous kingdomes of Maroco and Fez. With the particular description whereof, and of all the prouinces, cities, townes, riuers, mountaines, &c. therein contained, the Reader may satisfie himselfe to the full in the second and third bookes of the historie of *Iohn Leo* before set downe.

These kingdomes besides their natural fertilitie, are very traffickable; for though the king of Fez hath no hauen of importance vpon the Mediterranean sea, neuerthelesse the English, French, and other nations traffick much to his ports vpon the Ocean, especially to * Larache, Santa Cruz, Cabo de Guer, and in other places perteining partly to the kingdome of Fez, and partly to Maroco; and they bring thither copper, and brasse, with armes and diuers commodities of Europe, for which among other things they returne sugar.

* *Described by Leo in his fifth booke vnder the name of Lharais.*

But because these kingdomes of Maroco and Fez, and diuers other Signiories, and Principalities, at first separate and deuided, were vnited not long sithence vnder one Prince, who is called * the Xeriffo, it will not be much from our purpose (because among the accidents of our times, I think there is not any one, more notable or wonderfull then this) to set downe here how the matter passed.

* *Or Miramonin.*

*The maner how the Xeriffos aspired to the kingdomes of Maroco, Sus, and Fez.*

About the yeere of our Lord 1508 a certaine Alchaide borne in Tigumedet a towne of Dara, whose name was *Mahumet Benametto*, and who caused himselfe to be called *Zeriffo*, being a subtile man, and of a minde no lesse ambitious, then learned in those sciences, whereunto the Mahumetans are most addicted, began to grow famous in the townes of Numidia. This man vaunting himselfe to be descended of *Mahumets* progenie, was possessed with an imagination (trusting in the deuision of the States of Affricke, wherein then the Portugals bore great sway) of taking into his owne hands all * Mauritania Tingitana. For performance of this, he first sent his three sonnes, *Abdel*, *Abnet*, and *Mahumet*, in pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, there to visit & do reuerence to the sepulchre of their Seductor *Mahumet*. The yoong men performed this voyage with so great fame and reputation of sanctitie and religion (if these words may be vsed, in declaring of such an impietie) that in their returne, the people came out to meete them, kissed their garments, and reuerenced them as saints. They fayning themselves to be rauished into deepe contemplation, went vp and downe the streetes sighing, and crying out in words interrupted with lamentation & yerning: Alá, Alá; and they liued of nothing but almes. Their father hauing taken them home with great mirth and ioy: but yet not minding to suffer this sudden applause & credit, which they had obtayned by such a pilgrimage, to freeze and wax cold; he sent two of them which were * *Amet* and *Mahumet* to Fez; where being courteously receiued by the king, one of them became a Reader in the Amodoraccia, a most famous colledge of that citie, and the yoongest was made tutor to the same kings yoong sonnes. These two seeing themselues so entirely beloued of the king, and in so great fauour with the people, being aduised by their father, and taking occasion vpon the damage which the Arabians & Moores did to those of their owne

** Or the kingdomes of Maroco, and Fez.*

** Or Abnet.*

law and sect, vnder the ensignes of the Portugals, in whose paie they serued. They demaunded leaue of the king to display a banner against the Christians, putting him in hope, (as indeed it fell out) that they would easily draw those Moores vnto him, who were followers of the crowne of Portugall, and by this meanes secure the prouinces of Sus, Hea, Ducala, Maroco, with others molested, & euilly entreated by the Portugals. This request was contradicted by *Mullei Nazer*, brother to the king: for (said he) "if these men, vnder pretence of holines, and defence of their law, shall haue some prosperous proceedings with armes in hand, it will not afterwards be in thy power (O king) to bridle or bring them downe: for armes make men couragious, & by victories they prooue insolent, & the rout of ambitious people are alwaies desirous of innouation." But the king who had a great opinion of their sanctitie, making small account of the reasons his brother alleaged vnto him, gaue them a banner, and drumslade, and twentie horse to accompanie them, with letters of recommendation to the Arabians, the princes, and the cities of Barbarie. With these beginnings many people running headlong after their fame, they ouercame Ducala, and the countrey of * Saphia, and went forward euen as farre as Cabo de Guer (which places then were subiect to the Portugals) and finding themselues strong, both in retinue and credite, they demanded of the people (who at that time liued for the most part freely, and came in to none, but such as they liked of themselues) that seeing they now tooke vp armes for the Mahumetane law against the Christians, they should aide them with their tenthes due vnto God: the which were presently yeelded vnto them by the people of Dara, and so they seazed by little and little vpon Tarodant (where their father was made gouernour) and likewise of Sus, Hea, Ducala, and other places adioining. They first planted themselues in Tednest, and then in Tesarote, and

* *Or Azaphi.*

in a conflict ouerthrew *Lopes Barriga*, a famous captaine amongst the Portugals: but so they lost their owne elder brother therein. And afterwards by faire words entring into the citie of Maroco, they poisoned the king, and in his stead made *Amet Zeriffo* to be proclaimed king of Maroco. In the meanewhile the Arabians of Ducala, & Xarquia came to hand blowes with those of Garbia, each partie holding themselues in the *Xeriffoes* fauour; but the *Zeriffos* perceiuing the skirmish to grow hot, and that many both of the one and of the other party went to wrack, turned their armes against them both, and enriched themselues with their spoiles. In former times they vsed to send vnto the king of Fez the fift of all those booties which they got; but after this victory, making no reckoning of their said custom, they presented him only with six horses, and six camels, & those but silly ones: wherat being mooued, he sent to demand of them the fift part of their spoiles, and the tribute that the king of Maroco paid him, threatning otherwise warre vpon them. But in the meane while, this man dying, *Amet* his sonne, who was scholler to the yoonger *Zeriffo*, was not onely content, but further confirmed *Amet* in the Signiorie of Maroco, so that in some small matter he would acknowledge the kings of Fez for soueraigne Princes ouer that citie. But on the other side the *Xeriffi*, whose reputation and power daily encreased, when the time of paying tribute came, sent to certifie this yoong king, that being lawfull successors to *Mahumet*, they were not bound to paie tribute to any, and that they had more right to Affrica then he: so that if he would haue them his friends, so it were; otherwise if he ment to diuert them from this their warre against the Christians, they should not want courage nor power to defend themselues. Wherewith the Fessan king being offended, proclaimed warre against them, and went himselfe in person to the siege of Maroco: but at the very first he was driuen to

dislodge: and afterwards returning with eighteene thousand horse, amongst whom were two thousand harquebuziers, or bowmen, he was vanquished by the *Xeriffi*, who had no more but seuen thousand horse, and twelue hundred harquebuziers which were placed on the way at the passage of a riuer. By meanes of this victorie the *Xeriffi* shooke off the tribute of that countrie, and passing ouer Atlas, they tooke Tafilete, an important citie: and partly by faire meanes, partly by force, they brought diuers people of Numidia to their obedience, as also those of the mountaines. In the yeere of our Lord 1536. the yoonger *Xeriffo* who was now called king of Sus, hauing gathered togither a mightie armie, and much artillerie, taken in part from the king of Fez, and partly cast by the French Renegados, he went to the enterprise of Cabo de Guer, a very important fortification, held then by the Portugals, which was built and fortified first at the charge of *Lopes Sequeira:* and afterward, knowing their opportunitie from the king *Don Emanuel*, there was fought on both sides a most terrible battell. In the end, fire taking hold on the munition, and vpon this the souldiers being daunted that defended the fortresse, the *Xeriffo* entred thereinto, tooke the towne, and made the greatest part of the garrison his prisoners. By this victorie the *Zeriffi* brought in a manner all Atlas and the kingdome of Maroco to their obedience, & those Arabians who serued the crowne of Portugall. Whereupon king *Iohn* the third seeing that his expences farre exceeded the reuenues which came in, of his owne accord gaue ouer Safia, Azamor, Arzilla, and Alcazar, holds which he had on the coast of Mauritania.

*Artillerie cast by French Renegados.*

This prosperitie was an occasion of grieuous discord betwixt the Brothers: the issue whereof was, that the younger hauing in two battels subdued the elder (whereof the second was in the yeere of our Lord 1554) and taken him prisoner, he banished him to Tafilet; and afterwards

turning his armes against the king of Fez, after hauing taken him once prisoner, and then releasing him, he yet the second time (because he brake promise) got him into his handes againe, depriued him of his estate, and in the end caused both him and his sonnes to be slaine; and by meanes of his owne sonnes he also tooke Tremizen. . .

In the meane while *Sal Araes* viceroy of Algier fearing the Xeriffos prosperous successe, gathered together a great armie, with which he first recoured Tremizen, & afterwards defeating the Xeriffo, conquered Fez, and gaue the gouernment thereof to *Buasson* Prince of Veles: but this man ioyning battaile with the Xeriffo, lost at one instant both his citie and kingdome. In the ende *Mahumet* going to Tarodant was vpon the way slaine in his pauilion by the treason of some Turkes, suborned thereunto by the viceroy of *Algier*, of whom one *Assen* was the chiefe: who together with his companions went into Trodant, and there made hauocke of the kinges treasures: But in their returne home, they were all, but fiue, slaine by the people, in the yeere 1559: and *Mullei Abdala* the *Xeriffos* sonne, was proclaimed and saluted king.

Let thus much suffice to haue bin spoken of the *Xeriffo:* whose proceedinges appeare much like to those of *Ismael* the sophie of Persia. Both of them procured followers by bloud and the cloake of religion: both of them subdued in short time many countries: both of them grew great by the ruine of their neighbours both of them receiued greeuous checkes by the Turkes, and lost a part of their states: for *Selym* tooke from *Ismael*, Cacamit and diuers other cities of Diarbena: And the viceroy of Algier did driue the *Xeriffo* out of Tremizen, and his other quarters: And euen as *Selim* won Tauris, the head citie of Persia, and afterwardes gaue it ouer: so *Sal Araes* took Fez the head citie of Mauritania, and then after abandoned the same

*The Xeriffo his reuenues, or cominges in.*

THe *Xeriffo* is absolute Lord of all his subiects goods, yea and of their persons also. For though he charge them with neuer so burdensome tributes, and impositions; yet dare they not so much as open their mouthes: He receiueth from his tributarie vassals, the tenthes, and first fruits of their corne and cattell. True it is, that for the first fruits he taketh no more but one for twentie, and the whole being aboue twentie, he demandeth no more then two, though it amount to an hundred. For euery dayes tilth of grounde he hath a ducate and a quarter, and so much likewise for euerie house; as also, he hath after the same rate of euerie person aboue fifteene yeers old, male, or female; and when need requireth, a greater summe: and to the end that the people may the more cheerefullie pay that which is imposed vpon them, he alwaies demaundeth halfe as much more as he is to receiue. Most true it is, that on the mountaines there inhabite certaine fierce and vntamed people, who by reason of the steep, craggie, and inexpugnable situation of their countrie cannot be forced to tributes; that which is gotten of them, is the tenth of their corne and fruits, onely that they may be permitted to haue recourse into the plaines. Besides these reuenues, the king hath the towles and customes of Fez, and of other cities: For at the entring of their goods, the naturall citizen payeth two in the hundred, and the stranger ten.

He hath further, the reuenues of milles, and many other thinges, the summe whereof is very great: for the milles yeelde him little lesse then halfe a royall of plate, for euerie Hanega of corne that is ground in Fez, where, (as they say) there are aboue foure hũdred mils. The moschea of Caruuen had fourescore thousand ducates of rent: the colledges and hospitals of Fez had also many thousands. Al which the king hath at this present. And further he

*Caruuen the principall Mahumetan temple in Fez, being a mile and an halfe about Read Leo, lib. 3.*

is heire to all the Alcaydes, and them that haue pension of him, and at their deaths he possesseth their horses, armour, garments, and al their goodes. Howbeit if the deceased leaue any sonnes apt for the seruice of the warres, he granteth them their fathers prouision; but if they be but young, he bringeth vp the male children to yeeres of seruice, and the daughters, till they be married. And therefore, that he may haue some interest in the goods of rich men, he bestoweth vpon them some gouernment, or charge, with prouision. Wherefore for feare of confiscation after death, euery one coueteth to hyde his wealth, or to remoue far from the court, and the kings sight. For which cause the citie of Fez commeth far short of hir ancient glorie. Besides, his reuenues haue beene augmented of late yeeres by mightie sums of gold, which he fetcheth from Tombuto and Gago in the lande of Negros; which gold (according to the report of some) may yeerely amount to three millions of ducates.

### *His Forces.*

THe *Xeriffo* hath not any Fortresses of great importance, but only vpon the sea-coast, as Cabo de Guer, Larache, and Tetuan: for as the Turks and Persians do, so he placeth the strength of his state in armed men: but especially in horse. And for this cause he standeth not much vpon his artillerie; although hee hath very great store (which his predecessors tooke from the Portugals and others) in Fez, Maroco, Tarodant, and in the foresaide portes; causing also more to bee cast, when neede requireth; for he wanteth not masters of Europe in this Science. He hath an house of munition in Maroco, where they make ordinarily six and fortie quintals of powder euery moneth; as likewise also caliuers and steele-bowes. In the yeere of our Lord 1569. a fire tooke hold on these houses with such furie, that a great part of the citie was

destroied therewith. But for the *Xeriffoes* forces, they are of two sorts: the first is of two thousand seuen hundred horse, and two thousand harquibuziers, which he hath partly in Fez, but most in Maroco (where he is resident) being as it were of his daily guard. The second is of a roiall squadron of sixe thousand gentlemen, being all of noble parentage, and of great account. These men are mounted vpon excellent horses, with furniture and armes, for varietie of colour most beautifull, and for riches of ornament beyonde measure estimable: for euery thing about them shineth with gold, siluer, pearle, iewels, and whatsoeuer else may please the eie, or satisfie the curiositie of beholders. These men, besides prouision of corne, oile, butter and flesh, for themselues, their wiues, children, and seruants, receiue further in wages, from seuentie to an hundred ounces of siluer a man. The third sort of forces which he hath, consisteth of his * Timariotti: for the *Xeriffo* granteth to all his sons, and brothers, and other persons of account or authoritie among the people of Africke, or to the princes of the Arabians, the benefite of great Lordships & tenures for sustentation of his Cauallarie: and the Alchaides themselues till the fields, and afterwardes reape rice, oile, barly, butter, sheepe, hens, and monie, and distribute the same monethly to the souldiers; according to the seuerall qualitie of their persons. They also giue them cloth, linnen, and silke to apparell themselues, armes of offence, and defence, and horses, with which they serue in the warres, and if they die or be killed, they allow them other. A thing which was also vsed in Rome, towards them that serued on publike horses. Euerie one of these leaders contendeth to bring his people into the fielde well ordred, for armes, apparell, and horses: besides this, they haue betweene fower and twentie and thirtie ounces of siluer wages euery yeere. His fourth militarie forces, are the Arabians, who liue continually in their Auari, (for so

*These are a militarie order, like vnto them which hold land with vs vnder the tenure of knights seruice.*

they call their habitations, each one of them consisting of an hundred, or two hundred pauilions) gouerned by diuers Alchaides, to the end they may be readie in time of need. These serue on horse-backe, but they are rather to be accounted theeues, then true soldiers. His fift kinde of forces militarie, are somewhat like vnto the trained soldiers of Christian princes; and among these, the inhabitants of cities and villages of the kingdome, and of the mountaines are enrolled. It is true, that the king makes but little account of them, & very seldome puts armes into their hands, for feare of insurrections and rebellions, except in the warres against the Christians, for then he cannot conueniently forbid them: For it being written in their law, that if a Moor kil a Christian, or is slaine by him, he goeth directly into Paradise, (a diabolicall inuention) men, women, and those of euery age and degree, run to the warres hand ouer head, that at least they may there be slaine; and by this meanes (according to their foolish opinion) gaine heauen. No lesse zeale, to our confusion, may we perceiue in the Turks especially for defence of their sect: for one would thinke they went to a marriage, and not to the warre, scarcely being able with patience to attend their prefixed time of going thither. They repute them holy and happie, that die with armes in hand against their enimies; as on the contrarie, those men vnhappie, and of little woorth, that die at home, amidst the lamentation of children, and outcries of women.

By the things aboue set downe, we may easily comprehend, what numbers of men the *Xeriffo* can bring into the field: but yet we may learne better by experience. For *Mullei Abdala* in the yeere 1562. besieged Mazagan with two hundred thousand men, choaking the ditch with a mountaine of earth, and beating downe the walles thereof with his Artillerie: but for all this, he was enforced by the valour of the Portugals, and the damage which he receiued

by their mines, to giue ouer his siege. Besides, this Prince can not continue a great war, aboue two, or three moneths: and the reason hereof is, because his forces liuing on that prouision which he hath daylie comming in, as well for sustenance as for aparrell, and not being able to haue all this conducted thither, where the war requireth, it followeth of necessitie, that in short time they must needs returne home for their maintenance of life: and further it is an euident thing, that no man can protract a war at length, except he be rich in treasure. *Molucco* who ouerthrew *Sebastian* king of Portugal, had in pay vnder his ensignes fortie thousand horse, and eight thousand foote besides Arabians and aduenturers: But it is thought, he could haue brought into the field, seuentie thousand horse, and more foot then he did.

### *Of the dominions and fortresses which the king of Spaine hath vpon the Isles and maine landes of Africa, and of the great quantity of treasure and other commodities which are brought from thence.*

BEsides Oran, Mersalquibir, Melilla and Pennon which the king of Spaine possesseth within the streights; as likewise Çeuta, Tanger, and Arzil, which by the title of Portugal he holdeth very neere the streights of Gibraltar; and Mazagan in like sort without the streights mouth, twentie miles to the southward of Arzil: he hath along the coast of Affrick, from Cape de Guer, to that of Guardafu, two sorts of states: for some are immediately vnder him, and others are as it were his adherents. The Ilands of Madera, Puerta Santo, the Canaries, the Isles of Arguin, of Cabo Verde, the isle Del Principe, with that of Sant Thomas, and others neere adioining, are immediately vnder his dominion. These islands are maintained with their owne victuall, and prouision, and yet they haue also some out of Europe, as in like manner they send some thither:

especially sugars and fruits, wherewith the isle of Madera woonderfully aboundeth, as also with wine. And the iland of Sant Thomas likewise hath great abundance of sugars. These States haue no incumbrance, but by the English and French men of warre,* which for all that go not beyond Cape Verde. At the ilands of Arguin, and at Sant George de la Mina, the Portugals haue planted factories in forme of fortresses, by meanes of which, they trade with the bordering people of Guinie and Libya, and get into their hands the gold of Mandinga, and other places neere about. Among the adherent Princes, the richest and most honourable, is the king of Congo, in that his kingdome is one of the most flourishing and plentifull countries in all Ethiopia. The Portugals haue there two Colonies, one in the citie of S. Saluador, and an other in the island Loanda. They haue diuers rich commodities from this kingdome, but the most important is euery yeere about 5000. slaues, which they transport from thence, and sell them at good round prizes in all the isles and maine lands of the west Indies: and for the head of euerie slaue so taken vp, there is a good taxe paid to the crowne of Portugall. From this kingdome one might easily go to the countrie of *Prete Ianni*, for it is not thought to be very farre of: and it doth so abound with Elephants, victuall, and all other necessarie things, as would bring singular ease and commodity to such an enterprise. Vpon the kingdome of Congo confineth Angola, with whose prince of late yeeres *Paulo Dias* a Portugall captaine made war: and the principall occasion of this warre are certain mines of siluer, in the mountaines of Cabambe, no whit inferior to those of Potossi; but by so much are they better, as fine siluer goeth beyond that which is base, and course. And out of doubt, if the Portugals had esteemed so well of things neere at hand, as they did of those farther off and remote, and had thither bent their forces wherewith they passed Capo de bueno esperança,

* *Mine author heere much mistaketh the matter.*

and went to India, Malaca, and the Malucoes; they had more easily, and with lesse charge found greater wealth: for there are no countries in the world richer in gold and siluer, then the kingdomes of Mandinga, Ethiopia, Congo, Angola, Butua, Toroa, Maticuo, Boro, Quiticui, Monomotapa, Cafati, and Mohenemugi. But humane auarice esteemeth more of an other mans, then his owne, and things remote appeere greater then those neere at hand. Betweene Cabo de buena esperança, and Cape Guardafu, the Portugals haue the fortresses of Sena, Cephala, and Mozambique. And by these they continue masters of the trade with the bordering nations, all which abound in gold and iuorie. By these fortresses they haue special commoditie, for their nauigation to the Indies; bicause their fleetes sometimes winter, and otherwhiles victuall, and refresh themselues there. In these parts the king of Melinde is their greatest friend, and those of Quiloa, and other neighbour-islands, are their tributaries. The Portugals want nothing but men. For besides other islands, which they leaue in a manner abandoned, there is that of Saint Laurence, one of the greatest in all the world (being a thousand two hundred miles long, and fower hundred and fower-score broad) the which, though it be not well tilled, yet for the goodnes of the soile it is apt and fit to be manured, nature hauing distinguished it with riuers, harbours, & most commodious baies. These States belonging to the crowne of Portugall, feare no other but such sea-forces, as may be brought thither by the Turkes. But the daily going to and fro of the Portugall fleetes, which coast along vp and downe those seas, altogither secureth them. In the yeere 1589. they tooke neere vnto Mombaza, fower gallies, and a galliot, belonging to the Turkes, who were so bold as to come euen thither.

*The dominions of the great Turke in Africa.*

THe great Turk possesseth in Africa all the sea-coast from Valez de Gumera, or (as some hold opinion) from the riuer Muluia, which is the easterne limitie of the kingdome of Fez, euen to the Arabian gulfe of Red sea, except some few places (as namely Mersalcabir, Melilla, Oran, and Pennon) which the king of Spaine holdeth. In which space before mentioned are situate sundrie of the most famous cities and kingdomes in all Barbarie; that is to say, Tremizen, Alger, Tenez, Bugia, Constantina, Tunis, Tripolis, and all the countrey of Egypt, from Alexandria to the citie of Asna, called of old Siene, togither with some part of Arabia Troglodytica, from the towne of Suez to that of Suachen. Also in Africa the grand Signor hath fiue viceroies, called by the names of Beglerbegs or Bassas, namely at Alger, Tunis, Tripolis, at Missir for all Egypt, and at Suacher for those places which are chalenged by the great Turke in the dominions of *Prete Ianni*. Finally, in this part at Suez in the bottome of the Arabian gulfe, is one of his fower principall Arsenals, or places for the building, repairing, docking, and harbouring of his warlike gallies, which may lie heere vnder couert, to the number of fiue and twentie bottomes.

## *A summarie discourse of the manifold Religions professed in Africa: and first of the Gentiles.*

Frica containeth fower sorts of people different in religion: that is to say, Gentiles, Iewes, Mahumetans, and Christians. The Gentiles extend themselues along the shoare of the Ocean, in a manner from Cabo Blanco, or the white Cape, euen to the northern borders of Congo; as likewise, from the southerly bounds of the same kingdome, euen to Capo de buena Esperança: & from thence, to that of De los Corrientes: and within the land they spred out from the Ethiopick Ocean, euen vnto Nilus, and beyond Nilus also from the Ethiopick, to the Arabian sea. These Gentiles are of diuers sorts, for some of them haue no light of God, or religion, neither are they gouerned by any rule or law. Wherupon the Arabians call them Cafri, that is to say, lawlesse, or without law. They haue but fewe habitations. and they liue for the most part in caues of mountaines, or in woods, wherein they finde some harbour from winde and raine. The ciuilest among them, who haue some vnderstanding and light of diuinitie and religion, obey the Monomotapa, whose dominion extendeth with a great circuite, from the confines of Matama, to the riuer Cuama: but the noblest part thereof is comprehended betweene the mightie riuer of Magnice or Spirito Sancto, and that of Cuama, for the space of sixe hundred leagues. They haue no idols, and beleeue in one only God, called by them

Mozimo. Little differing from these we may esteeme the subiects of Mohenemugi. But among all the Cafri, the people called Agag or Giacchi, are reputed most brutish, inhabiting in woods and dens, and being deuourers of mans flesh. They dwell vpon the left banke of Nilus, betweene the first and second lake. The Anzichi also haue a shambles of mans flesh, as we haue of the flesh of Oxen. They eate their enimies whom they take in war; they sell their slaues to butchers, if they can light on no greater prise: and they inhabit from the riuer Zaire, euen to the deserts of Nubia. Some others of them are rather addicted to witchcraft, then to idolatrie: considering that in a man, the feare of a superior power is so naturall, that though he adore nothing vnder the name and title of a God, yet doth he reuerence and feare some superioritie, although he know not what it is. Such are the Biafresi, and their neighbours, all of them being addicted in such sort to witchcraft, as that they vaunt, that by force of enchantment, they can not onely charme, and make men die, much more molest and bring them to hard point: but further, raise windes and raine, and make the skie to thunder and lighten, and that they can destroy all herbes and plants, and make the flockes and heards of cattell to fall downe dead. Whereupon they reuerence more the diuell then any thing else: sacrificing vnto him of their beasts and fruits of the earth, yea their owne bloud also, and their children. Such are likewise the priests of Angola, whom they call Ganghe. These make profession that they haue in their hands dearth and abundance; faire weather and foule; life and death. For which cause it can not be expressed, in what veneration they are held among those Barbarians. In the yeere 1587. a Portugall captaine being in a part of Angola with his souldiers, a Ganga was requested by the people to refresh the fields, which were drie and withered, with some quantitie of water. Hee needed no great intreatie, but

going forth with diuers little bels, in presence of the Portugals, he spent halfe an hower in fetching sundry gambols & skips, & vttering diuers superstitious murmurings: and behold, a cloud arose in the aire, with lightning, and thunder. The Portugals grew amazed; but all the Barbarians with great ioy admired and extolled vnto heauen, their Ganga, who now gaue out intolerable brags, not knowing what hung ouer his head: For the windes outragiously blowing, the skie thundring after a dreadfull manner, in stead of the raine by him promised, there fell a thunderbolt, which like a sword cut his head cleane from his shoulders. Some other idolaters not looking much aloft, worship earthly things: such were the people of Congo before their conuersion, and are at this day those, that haue not yet receiued the Gospell. For these men worship certaine dragons with wings, and they foolishly nourish them in their houses, with the delicatest meates that they haue. They worship also serpents of horrible shape, goats, tygers, and other creatures, and the more they feare and reuerence them, by how much the more deformed and monstrous they are. Amongst the number of their gods also, they reckon bats, owles, owlets, trees, and herbes, with their figures in wood and stone; and they do not onely worship these beasts liuing, but euen their very skins when they are dead, being filled with straw, or some other matter: and the manner of their idolatrie is, to bow downe before the foresaid things, to cast themselues groueling vpon the earth, to couer their faces with dust, and to offer vnto them of their best substance. Some lifting vp their mindes a little higher, worship starres, such be the people of Guinie, and their neighbours, who are enclined to the worship of the sunne, the greatest part of them: and they hold opinion, that the soules of those dead that liued well, mount vp into heauen, and there dwell perpetually neere vnto the sunne. Neither want there amongst these, certaine

others so superstitious, as they worship for God the first thing they meete withall, comming out of their houses. They also hold their kings in the account & estimation of Gods, whom they suppose to be descended from heauen, & their kings to maintaine themselues in such high reputation, are serued with woonderfull ceremonies, neither will they be seene but very seldome.

### *Of the Iewes.*

THe Iewes who haue bene dispersed by god throughout the whole world, to confirme vs in the holie faith, entered into Ethiopia in the Queen of *Sabas* daies, in companie of a son that *Salomon* had by her, to the number (as the Abassins affirme) of twelue thousand, and there multiplied their generation exceedingly. In that they not onely filled Abassia, but spred themselues likewise all ouer the neighbour prouinces. So that at this day also the Abassins affirme, that vpon Nilus towards the west, there inhabiteth a most populous nation of the Iewish stock, vnder a mightie K. And some of our moderne Cosmographers set downe a prouince in those quarters, which they call The land of the Hebrewes, placed as it were vnder the equinoctiall, in certaine vnknowne mountaines, betweene the confines of Abassia, and Congo. And likewise on the north part of the kingdome of Goiame, and the southerly quarter of the kingdome of Gorham there are certaine mountaines, peopled with Iewes, who there maintaine themselues free, and absolute, through the inaccessible situations of the same. For in truth by this means, the inhabitants of the mountaines (speaking generally) are the most ancient, and freest people: in that the strong situation of their natiue soile secureth them from the incursions of forraine nations, and the violence of their neighbours. Such are the Scottes in Britaine, and the Biskaines in Spaine. But to return againe to our purpose: the Anzichi,

who extend from the bankes of the riuer Zaire, euen to the confines of Nubia, vse circumcision, as also diuers other bordering people do, a thing that must necessarilie haue been brought in by the Iewes, & yet remayning stil in vse, after the annihilation of the Mosaicall law amongst them. Some also think, that the people called Cafri or Cafates at this day, who are gentiles, draw their originall from the Iewes, but being enuironed on euery side by Idolaters, they haue by little and little swarued from the law of Moses: and so are become, as it were, insensibly, Idolaters. On the other side, the Iewes being woonderfully increased in Spaine, passed one after an other into Affricke and Mauritania, and dispersed themselues euen to the confines of Numidia, especiallie by meanes of traffick, and the profession of goldsmithes, the which being vtterly forbidden the Mahumetans, is altogether practised amongst them by the Iewes, as are likewise diuers other mechanicall crafts, but principallie that of black smithes. A thing which notablie appeareth in mount Sessaua in the kingdome of Maroco, and in mount Anteta. It is said that Eitdeuet, a towne in the kingdome of Maroco, was inhabited by the Iewes, of the stock (as they affirme) of *Dauid*, who notwithstanding by little and little are growne Mahumetans. The Iewes encreased afterwards in Affirick, when first *Emanuell* king of Portugal, put them forth of their dominions: For then many went ouer into the kingdomes of Fez and Maroco, and brought in thither the artes and professions of Europe vnknowne before to those Barbarians. In Bedis, Teza, Elmedina, Tefsa, and in Segelmesse euery place is full of them. They passe also by way of traffick euen to Tombuto, although *Iohn Leo* writeth how that king was so greatly their enemie, that he confiscated the goods of those that traded with them. It importeth me not to speake of Egypt, because it hath euer beene, as well by reason of the neernes of Palestina, as for the commodity of

traffick, whereunto they are much enclined, as it were, their second countrie. Here in great number, and in a manner in all the cities and townes thereof, they exercise mechanicall arts, and vse traffick and merchandize, as also take vpon them the receit of taxes and customes: but aboue all other places, in Alexandria and Cairo, where they amount to the number of fiue and twentie thousand, and the ciuiller sort among them do vsually speake the Castilian toung.

Thus much may suffice to haue bin spoken concerning the Iewes. It now remaineth, that we come to intreat of the Mahumetans of Africa. Concerning whom, before we make any particular relation, it will not be amisse; for the readers more perfect instruction, to speake somewhat in generall: as namely of the sinister proceedings of their first seducer Mahumet; of the variety and propagation of their damned sects ouer the east and south parts of the world; of the fower principall nations which are the mainteiners and vpholders of this diabolicall religion; and of sundry other particulars most worthie the obseruation.

*Of Mahumet, and of his accursed religion in generall.*

MAhumet his father, was a certaine prophane Idolater called *Abdalá*, of the stock of *Ismael*, and his mother was one *Hennina a Iew, both of them being of very humble, and poore condition. He was borne in the yeere of our Lord 562. and was endowed with a graue countenance and a quick wit. Being growne to mans estate, the Scenite Arabians, accustomed to rob, and runnie all ouer the countrie, tooke him prisoner, and sold him to a Persian merchant, who discerning him to be apt, and subtile about busines, affected and held him in such account, that after his death his mistresse remaining a widow, scorned not to take him for her husband. Being therefore inriched by this meanes, with goods and credit, he raised vp his minde to greater matters. The times then answered

* *Or Emina*

very fitly for one that woulde disturbe or worke any innouation. For the Arabians vpon some euill entreatie were malecontented with the Emperour *Heraclius*. The heresies of *Arrius* and *Nestorius*, had in a miserable sort shaken and annoied the church of God. The Iewes, though they wanted power, yet amounted they to a great number. The Saracens preuailed mightily, both in number and force. And the Romaine Empire was full of slaues. *Mahumet* therefore taking hold on this opportunitie, framed a law, wherein all of them should haue, some part, or prerogatiue. In this, two Apostata Iewes, and two heretikes, assisted him: of which one was *Iohn*, being a scholler of *Nestorius* schoole; and the other *Sergius*, of the sect of *Arrius*. Whereupon the principall intention of this cursed law was wholie aimed against the diuinitie of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, wickedly oppugned by the Iewes and Arrians. He perswaded this law, first by giuing his wife to vnderstand, and his neighbours by her meanes, and by little and little others also, that he conuersed with the angell *Gabriell*, vnto whose brightnes he ascribed the falling sicknes, which many times prostrated him vpon the earth: dilating and amplifying the same in like sort, by permitting all that which was plausible to sense and the flesh; as also by offering libertie to all slaues that would come to him, and receiue his law. Wherefore being prosecuted hard by the masters of those fugitiue slaues led away by him, he fledde to Medina Talnabi, and there remained some time. From this flight the Mahumetans fetch the originall of their Hegeira. But questionlesse there was nothing that furthered more the enlargement of the Mahumetan sect, then prosperitie in armes, and the multitude of victories; whereby *Mahumet* ouerthrew the Persians, became lord of Arabia, and draue the Romaines out of Syria. And his successors afterwards extended their empire from Euphrates to the Atlantick Ocean, and

from the riuer Niger to the Pirenei mountaines, and beyond. They occupied Sicilia, assailed Italy, and with continuall prosperitie, as it were, for three hundred yeeres, either subdued, or encumbred, both the east & west. But to returne to *Mahumet* his law, it embraceth circumcision, & maketh a difference between meats pure, & vnpure, partly to allure the Iewes. It denieth the Diuinitie of Christ, to reconcile the Arrians, who were then most mightie; it foisteth in many friuolous fables, that it might fit the Gentiles: & looseth the bridle to the flesh, which is a thing acceptable to the greatest part of men. Whereupon *Auicen* (though he were a Mahumetan) writeth thus of such a law: *Lex nostra* (saith he) *quam dedit Mahumeth, &c.* that is to say, *Our Law, which* Mahumet *gaue vs, regardeth the disposition of felicitie or misery, according to the body. But there is another promise, which concerneth the minde, or the soule: whichwise Diuines had a farre greater desire to apprehend, then that of the body, which though it be giuen vnto them, yet respect they it not, nor hold it in any estimation in comparision of that felicitie which is a coniunction with truth.*

* *Or Haly.*

*Mahumet* being dead, **Allé*, *Abubequer*, *Omar*, and *Odoman* his kinsemen, each of them pretending to be his true successor, wrote distinctly euerie one by himselfe. Vpon which there did arise fower seuerall sects. *Allé* was head of the sect Imemia, being followed by the Persians, Indians, and many Arabians, and Gelbines of Africa. *Abubequer* gaue foundation to the sect Melchia, embraced generally by the Arabians, Saracens and Africans. *Omar* was author of the Anesia, which is on foote among the Turks in Syria, and in that part of Africk which is called Zahara. *Odman* left behind him the Banesia, or Xefaia, as we may terme it, which wanteth not followers among the foresaid nations. Of these fower sects, in processe of time, haue growen sixtie eight other verie famous, besides some

of lesse renowne and fame. Among the many Mahumetan sects, there are the Morabites, who lead their liues for the most part in Hermitages, and make profession of Morall Philosophie, with certaine principles differing from the Alcoran. One of these was that Morabite, which certaine yeeres past, shewing *Mahumet* his name imprinted in his brest (being done with Aqua Fortis, as I suppose, or some such thing) raised vp a great number of Arabians in Africk, and laide siege to Tripolis; where being betraied by his captaine, he remained the Turkes prisoner, who sent his skin to the grand Signor. This man being in prison, said to an Italian slaue, his familiar, who went to visite him; I greeue at nothing but you Christians, who haue abandoned me. In that the knights of Malta onely sent him small succour, of powder and shot. These Morabites affirme, (to declare some of their fooleries) that when *Allé* fought, he killed ten thousand Christians with one blow of a sworde, and that this sword was an hundred cubits long. Then there is the foolish, and brutish sect of *Cobtini*. One of these shewed himselfe not many yeeres sithence in the market places and quarters of Algier, mounted on a reed, with a bridle and raines of leather, giuing the multitude to vnderstand, that vpon that horse in one night, he rid an hundred leagues; and he was for this greatly honored and reuerenced.

In tract of time, there grew amongst the Mahumetans, through the vanitie of their law, and the incredible variety and difference of opinions, great disorders: For their sect being not onely wicked, and treacherous (as we haue declared) but also grosse aud foolish, those that made profession thereof to defend and maintaine it, were enforced to make a thousand interpretations and constructions, far sometimes from reason, and otherwhiles from the expresse words of *Mahumet* him selfe. The *Califas* endeuoured mightily to reforme this; but their prouisions of greatest

importance were two. For first, *Moauia* (this man florished about the yeere of our Lord 770) called an assembly of learned and iudiciall men, to establish that which in their sect should be beleeued, and to this end he caused all the bookes of Mahumet, and his successors, to be gathered together. But they not agreeing amongst themselues, he chose out of them, sixe of the most learned, and shutting them within an house, with the said writings, he commaunded them, that euery one should make choise of that which seemed best vnto him. These men reduced the Mahumetan doctrine into sixe books, setting downe the pennaltie of losse of life, to them that should otherwise speake, or write of the law. But because the Arabians gaue their mindes to Philosophie, in the vniuersities of Bagdet, Fez, Maroco, and Cordoua (and being of piercing and subtile wits) they could not but looke into the fopperies of their sect. There was added vnto this another prouiso, which was a statute, that forbad them the studie of Philosophie: by meanes of which statute, their Vniuersities before most flourishing, haue within these fower hundred yeeres daily declined. At this day the sects of *Mahumetan* impietie are distinguished more through the might and power of those nations that follow them, then of themselues: and the principall nations are fower, that is to say, Arabians, Persians, Tartars, and Turks. The Arabians are most superstitious, and zealous. The Persians stand more vpon reason and nature: the Tartars hold much gentilisme and simplicitie: and the Turkes (especially in Europe) are most of them Libertines, and Martialistes.

The Arabians, as they that esteeme it for great glorie, that *Mahumet* was of their nation, and buried in Mecca (or as others thinke in Medina Talnabi) haue laboured with all arte, and yet procure to spread their sect ouer the whole world. In India they first preuailed with preaching, and afterwards with armes. Considering that seuen hundred

yeeres sithence (king *Perimal* reigning in Malabar) they began there to sow this cockle: and to bring the Gentiles more easily within their net, they tooke (and at this daie take) their daughters to wife, a matter greatly esteemed of them, by reason of these mens wealth. By this policie and the traffike of spices, which yeelded them infinite profite, they quickly set foote, and fastned it in India. They built townes, and planted colonies; and the first place, where they grew to a bodie, was Calicut, which of a small thing, by their concourse and traffike, became a mightie citie. They drew king *Perimal* to their sect, who at their perswasion resolued to go and end his daies at Mecca; and for that purpose he put himselfe onward on the voiage, with certaine ships laden with pepper and other precious commodities: but a terrible tempest met him in the midst of his course, and drowned him in the sea. They inhabite in Malabar, where two sorts of Arabians or Moores (as we may terme them) haue more exceedingly increased and preuailed, then in any other part of the Indies: one is of strangers that arriue there by reason of the traffike of Arabia, Cambaia, and Persia: and the other be those that dayly are borne of a Moorish father, and a mother Gentile, or both of father and mother Moores, and these (who are called Nateani, and differ from the other people, in person, customes, and habit) make as it were a fourth part of the inhabitants of that countrey. From Malabar, they went to the Maldiue, and Zeilan: Here they began to take vpon them the managing of the customs and impositions of cities and townes; and by making them greater then in times past, they attained to the grace and fauour of the Princes and Lords, together with great reputation and authority, yea preeminence and superiority ouer the common people: and fauouring those who embraced their sect, daylie preached and diuulged by the Papassi; but holding their hands heauie ouer such as shewed themselues

repugnant, they incredibly aduanced Mahumetisme. Afterwards perceiuing themselues strong and mightie, both in richesse, and followers, they seized on the townes and cities. So that at this day, they commaund a good part of the Maldiuæ, and the ports of the most noble iland of Zeilan, except that of Columbo where the Portugals haue a fortresse. By like stratagem are they become masters of the west part of Sumatra, within little more then these two hundred yeeres, first preuailing by trade, and commerce, then by marriage and affinitie, and last of all by armes. From hence going forwarde, they haue taken into their hands the greatest part of the ports of that large Archipelago of the Luçones, Malucos, Iauas, &c. They are Lords of the citie of Sunda, in the greater Iaua, they enioy the greatest part of the Ilands of Banda, and Maluco; they raigne in Burneo, & Gilolo. They came once as far as Luçon, a most noble Iland, and one of the Philippinas, & had planted therein three colonies. On the other side, they conquered vpon the firme land, first the rich kingdome of Cambaia, & there established their sect, as they did the like, in all the places adioining; from hence they went to Bengala, and became Lords thereof. They cut off by little and little, from the crowne of Siam, the state of Malaca, (which the Portugals holde at this day) as likewise those of Ior, and Pam; and more then two hundred leagues along the coast. Finallie they are entred into the most ample kingdome of China, and haue built Moscheas in the same; and if the Portugals in India and the Malucos, and afterwards the Spaniards in the Philippinas had not met them on the way, and with the gospell and armes, interrupted their course, they would at this instant haue possessed infinite kingdomes of the east: yea in this they are so industrious and bould, to our confusion, that euen the Arabian mariners, that go in the Portugall ships will tarrie behind in the Gentile-townes, there to publish their sect;

and in the yeere 1555. one of these men had passed euen as far as Iapon, for this purpose; so that if the Portugals had not remedied it in due time, he would peradventure haue wrought there some alteration.

The Persian nation, as touching their sect, a little before our time, haue beene made renowmed among those barbarous people, by the valor and armes of *Ismael*, called the Sophi. This man accounting himselfe to be of the race and blood of Alle, brought his owne sect into credit and reputation, and waged warre against those borderers, who would not accept of it. He wore a redde Turbant, with twelue points or corners, in memoriall of the twelue sonnes of *Ocen*, the sonne of *Alle*, willing that all his followers should weare the like; and many people came in vnto him, and in a maner all those nations which inhabite betweene the riuers Euphrates and Abianus, and between the Caspian sea & the Persian gulphe. *Tammas* his sonne sent the said twelue-cornered Turbant to the Mahumetan Princes of Malabar and Decan, perswading them to receiue it with his sect, and bestowing the title of a king, on whomesoeuer would accept of it, but no others receiued it, saue Nizzamaluco. It is a common voice and opinion, that the greatest part of the Mahumetans of Syria and the lesser Asia follow and affect inwardly the sect of Allé, and of the Persians; the which the Turkes perceiuing in the vproare of Techelle, made a mightie slaughter of them, carrying the kinsemen of the slaine, and those suspected, out of Asia into Europe.

But now let vs passe to the Tartars. These (*as otherwhiles we declared) descended of the ten tribes of Israel, being transported by the order and commission of *Salmanazar*, king of the Assirians, beyond India, into the land of Arsareth. Here degenerating into rude and barbarous customes, and forgetting in a greate part, or altogether, the Moysaicall ceremonies, they hardly reteined circumcision. *G. B. B. Rel. vn. part. 1. lib. 2. dell' Asia.*

They came out of this their banishment, in the yeere of our Lord 1200. and in a small time, with the ruine of infinite nations, made themselues terrible to all the east, and no lesse to the north. Pope Innocent the fourth, being amazed at the horrible storme, that hung ouer the head of Christendome (for they had spread themselues like locusts euen to the bankes of Danubius) sent from the councell of Lyons, Fryer *Ascellino*, of the order of Dominicus, with other Fryers, to the great C A N in the yeere 1246. to exhort him to embrace the name and faith of Christ; or at least to let the Christians alone in peace. Of baptisme he accepted not, but promised a league with the Christians, for fiue yeeres. Others notwithstanding will needes haue it, that he was conuerted, and that taking vp armes in fauour of the Christians, he caused Mustaceno the Califa of Baldach, to dy with famine, amidst the treasures heaped vp by him. But afterwards either hee, or his successor, together with his people, denying their Christianity, became Mahumetans in religion. And sithence that time, the Tartarian name and fame growing obscure, that of the Turkes began to flourish. The Tartars *Petegorski* notwithstanding vpon the mountaines of Cumania, remained firme in the Christian faith, but yet corrupted with the errors of the Greekes and Moscouites. The Colmugi neere the Caspian sea, continued in Paganisme, who are termed Capigliati, because they shaue not off their hayres, as the other Tartars do. The Kirgessi also be Idolators, as otherwhiles we declared. The other Tartars that are come on this side of Imaus, haue all, from one to an other, embraced Mahumetisme. And amongst others the Zagatai, who through the emulation they haue with the Persians (vpon whome they border and contend for Empire) as concerning sect, follow the opinion of the Turkes, as also the Mogores their descendents, who in these our dayes haue enlarged their Empire, betweene mount Caucasus and the Ocean,

*With this frier Ascelline was sent Iohannes de Plano Carpini, whose voiage is put downe in the first volume of the English voiages.*

and between Ganges, and Indus. But the Tartars of Cataya, resident beyond Imaus, and vpon the desert called Lop, remaine generallie in Idolatry, although their continue many Christians amongst them, of the sect of Nestorius, neither want there some Mahumetans.

Now let vs come to the Turkes, who in largenes of Empire, are superior to the other sects. Of these, part inhabite in Asia, part in Europe. Those of Asia incline much to the opinion of the Persians, and especially they that inhabite in Natolia, and the borders. But those of Europe are generally lesse superstitious then the Asians, and by reason of their daily conuersation with Christians, they haue a deeper opinion and conceit of Christ then the others, yea, and many of them hold him for God, and Redeemer. And it is not long sithence there were diuers put to death in Constantinople with speciall constancie on their part: and it was thought that many of the grand Signors court held the same opinion. The Turkes, especially those of Europe, are of two sorts: for some are naturall Turkes, others accessorie, or accidentall. Naturall I terme them, that are borne of Turkish parents: and them I call accidental, who leauing our sacred faith, or the Moysaicall law, become Mahumetans: the which the Christians performe by circumcising themselues, and the Iewes by lifting vp a finger. Now the Christians become Turkes, partly vpon some extreme & violent passion. *Cherseogli* (who afterwards was great with *Bazaieth*) turned Turke to bee reuenged of his father, who tooke from him his wife, amidst the solemnitie of the marriage. *Vlucciali* denied the faith to be reuẽged of a slaue, his companion in the gallie, who called him scald pate. Some abiure the faith to release themselues of torments and cruelties; others for hope of honors and temporall greatnes: and of these two sorts there are a great number in Constantinople, being thought to be Christians in hart: and yet through

*Or Olouchali.*

slothfulnes, or first to gather togither more wealth, or expecting opportunitie to carrie with them, their wiues and children, or for feare of being discouered in their departure and voiage, or else through sensualitie, and for that they would not be depriued of the licentiousnes and libertie of the life they lead, resolue not to performe that they are bound vnto; deferring thus to moneth to moneth, & from yeere to yeere, to leaue this Babylon & sinke of sin. But the greatest part of Renegados become Mahumetans without perceiuing it. In that the grand Signor sendeth euery fower yeers, more or lesse, according as need requireth, to take through his States of Europe, of euerie three christian male children one, at the discretion of his Commissaries, by way of tribute, and they take them from the age of ten, to the yeeres of seuenteene. These being brought to Constantinople, are without other ceremonies circumcised, and part of them are sent into Natolia and Caramania to learn the toong, religion and fashions of the Turkes: and part are emploied about the seruice of the Seraglios, or palaces of Constantinople, Pera, and Andrinople. Heere liuing among the Turkes, farre from their parents, separate from all conuersation with the faithfull, and depriued of all spirituall aide and helpe, without perceiuing it, they are made Turkes. The author of this, the most diabolicall institution that euer was made, was a certaine Turkish saint, called *Abeuiras*, in the daies of *Amurath* the second: and in the beginning the number was but three thousand, and afterwards they exceeded not twelue thousand, vntill the time of *Amurath* the third, who increased them to the number of fower and twentie thousand. But returning to their education: after some time they are called home againe to the Seraglios of the Zamoglans (for so are they termed, till they be enrolled among the Ianissaries) to remaine there vnder their heads and gouernours: and in short time they became Ianissaries, or Spahies, and either

they go to the warre, or are bestowed in some garrison, or else are resident in the court of the Turke. They are called The sonnes of the grand Signor: they liue with great license and libertie: they do whatsoeuer pleaseth themselues: neither can they be iudged by any but the Agaes: during their liues they are seldõtimes punished, and yet when it is done, it is with great secrecie: in buying they make their owne prizes. These snares are strong enough to procure, that they neuer care for returning any more to the bosome of the church. But that which is woorst of all: euery new Prince bestoweth on them a great larges, and augmenteth their pay, at the Christians charge. They also kill and robbe whomsoeuer they please, especially the Christians throughout the whole countrie, or in marching to the warre, and the Christians dare not so much as in a word finde themselues agreeued: whereupon there groweth in them such a scorne and contempt of the Christian name, that they remaine strangers to it. That which I haue said of yoong male children taken from out their mothers bosomes, who without perceiuing it become Mahumetanes, hapneth in like manner vnto them, whom the pirates by sea, or soldiers by land, make slaues, presenting them to the grand Signor. Besides the foresaid deuises, the Turkes further spread abroad their sect with all kind of vantage and furtherance. For they abase and bring to extreme miserie the Christians and Moores their subiects, not permitting them to ride, nor beare any kinde of armes, nor to exercise any maner of iustice, or gouernment. They make it lawfull to take Christian women that are not married. If the wife of a Christian turneth Turke, and marrieth herselfe with a Turke, their law permitteth, that the Christian husband by turning Turke may take her againe. They forbid the Christians to repaire their ruinate Churches, and suffer them in no wise to reedifie them fallen downe, without great bribes; and so the Christians through

pouertie let them come to ruine: by meanes whereof the publike worship of God faileth, and in progresse of time also, the very Christian faith and beleefe. In Asia they will not permit the Greekes the vse of their language, but onely in sacred administrations, to the end that togither with their language, they may also loose and forget their Christian fashions and customes. The Spahi being Lords for terme of life, of infinite villages, take such young men into their seruitude, as best pleaseth them; who in processe of time, by cõuersation with their maisters, and the fauours they hope after, and by the wicked fashions and customes which they learne, as also through the sinnes and vices, wherein they are drowned, do become Turkes. And the Greekes children, after the example of their companions, being thus fauoured and made much of, incline in such a sort vnto this euill, that vpon euery light occasion, they threaten their fathers and mothers to turne Turkes. Further it is forbidden the Mahumetanes to make restitution of any place, once taken with armes, and wherein they haue built a Moschea. To conclude, they vse all manner of circumstances, by meane of which they may amplifie or enlarge their dominion and sect.

*Of the Mahumetans of Africa in particular.*

THe Mahumetan impietie hath spred it selfe throughout Africa beyond measure: this pestilence entred into Egypt in the yeere of our Lord 637. by the armes of *Omar*. From whence a captaine of *Odoman* first passed into Africa in the yeere 650. with fower-score thousand fighting men, who there defeated *Gregorius Patritius*. But they perpetually cast out of Africk the Romaines with the people of Absimacus, and *Leontius* the emperour, in the yeere 699. and wholie impatronized themselues of Barbarie. They pierced into Numidia & Libya in the yeere 710. and ouerthrew the Azanaghi, and the people of Gualata, Oden, and

Tombuto. The yeere afterwards 973. hauing passed Gambea, they infected the Negroes, and the first that drunke of their poison were those of Melli. In the yeere 1067. *Iaiaia* the sonne of *Abubèquer* entred into the lower Ethiopia, and by little and little subuerted those people which confine vpon the deserts of Libya and Egypt, piercing euen to Nubia & Guinea. The Arabiãs haue augmẽted their sect in Africk, first with force of armes, by banishing of the naturall inhabitants, the which they might well do, by reason of their infinite multitude: and of them, that verse of *Dauid* may well be vnderstood: *In circuitu impij ambulant: secundum altitudinem tuam, multiplicasti filios hominum, &c.* The wicked walke round about; according to thy greatnes, thou hast multiplied the sonnes of men. Where they could not come, nor giue no blow with armes; there they haue ingraffed themselues, by preaching and traffike. The heresie of *Arrius* furthered their enterprize, wherewith the Vandales and Gothes being then inhabiters of Africa were infected. To further their designments they brought in the Arabicke language and letters. They founded Vniuersities and Studies, both for riches of reuenew, and magnificence of building most notable, especially in Maroco, and Fez. But there is nothing that hath greatlier furthered the progression of the Mahumetan sect, then perpetuitie of victorie, & the greatnes of conquests, first of the Califas in the east, & afterwards of the Miramolines in Affrick: In that the greatest part of men, yea, and in a manner all, except such as haue fastned their confidence vpon the crosse of Christ, and setled their hope in eternity, follow that which best agreeth with sense, and measure the grace of God by worldly prosperitie. And yet Christ (as *Iustinus* the Philosopher, and glorious martyr testifieth) promised no earthly reward to good works. Carnal men therefore perceiuing the empire of the Califas and Mahumetans continually to encrease in the east and

west, taking into their hands both sea and land, (for this their felicitie in armes continued three hundred yeeres, wherein they conquered all that which lieth betweene the riuer Abianus and the Atlantike Ocean, and subdued Spaine, Sicilia, and a part of Italie and France) and iudging that temporall prosperitie and victories were the effects and fruits, or at least the arguments and signes of the grace and fauour of God, they easily fell into Apostasie, whereunto the impietie of *Arrius* and other heretikes opened the way, who for long tract of time estranging themselues more and more from the Euangelicall truth, fell in the end into Atheisme: as we see hath fallen out in the course of some moderne enormities. But to returne from whence we haue digressed; in progresse of time there grew great differences betweene the Mahumetans: for their sect being no lesse sottish and foolish, then wicked and perfidious, the mainteiners of it were driuen to fetch reasons farre off for defence of the same. But the Arabians not contented in Africa to haue subiugated with armes, and with false doctrine to haue pestered Barbarie, Numidia, Libya, and the countrey of Negroes, they further on the other side assailed the lower Ethiopia, both by sea and land. By lande entred thereinto in the yeere 1067. *Iaiaia* the sonne of *Abubequer*, and by meanes of certaine Alfachi, he dispersed that pestilence into Nubia, and the neighbour prouinces. On the other side passing the Red sea, they first tooke knowledge of the coast of Ethiopia, euen to Cabo de los corrientes, by their continuall traffike thither: and afterwards being encouraged by the weakenes of the naturall inhabitants, they erected the kingdomes of Magadazo, Melinde, Mombazza, Quiloa, Mozambique, and seazed on some ports of the island of Saint Laurence: and gathering force by little and little, they enlarged their empire within the land, and established therein the kingdomes of Dangali and Adel. So that on the one side they haue spred their

sect, from the Red sea to the Atlantike Ocean, and from the Mediterran sea to the riuer Niger, and farther: and on the other, haue taken into their hands all the easterne coast of Africk, from Suez to Cape Guardafú, and from this, euen to that De los corrientes, and the adioining islands. In which places though the people be not altogither Mahumetans, yet haue the Mahumetans the weapons & dominion in their hands; the which how much it importeth for the bringing in of sects, we may easily conceiue. To conclude, they haue often assailed the *Prete Ianni;* sometimes the Turkes, who haue taken from him the ports of the Red sea; and otherwhiles the Moores, vnder the conduct of the king of Adel, who hath, and doth molest them greatly, leading into captiuitie a great number of Abassins, where they become for the most part Mahumetans.

## *Of the Christians of Africa.*

NOw that we haue declared the miseries and darknes of Affrick, it remaineth that we set downe that little light of true religion which there is; the which I can not passe ouer, without exceeding glorie to the Portugall nation. In that they with inestimable charge, and infinite trauaile, haue first sought to open the way to Ethiopia, and to bring the great Negus of Abassia, called by vs *Prete Ianni*, to the vnion of the christian church of Europe, performing whatsoeuer, after this, for the conuersion of the princes of Guinia and Meleghette to the faith, and yet more happily of the king of Congo and the Princes of Angola; and likewise with diuers colonies sent to the ilands of the Atlantick Ocean, they haue no lesse aduãced the honor of their owne nation, then the propagating of the christian faith. And finally, passing beyond Cabo de buena esperança, they haue resisted the Mahumetan sect, which had now extended it selfe on the backside of Africa, as far as Cabo de los corrientes.

*Of the Christians in Egypt.*

THe Christians of Egypt are partly strangers, partlie home-borne in the country; strangers come thither in regarde of traffick which there flourisheth aboue measure, especiallie in the cities of Alexandria and Cairo; by reason that this kingdome being most commodiously situate between the Red and Mediterran seas, vniteth the west parts of the world with the east, by meane of an infinite traffick; and therefore is it as it were a ladder, whereby the wealth of India and of the Eoan Ocean, passeth into the lesser Asia, into Africke, and Europe. Whereupon not onely the Venetians, Florentines, and Ragusians come thither in great numbers; but also the French, and English. The naturall Christians of Egypt, remaining after the spoiles and hauock of the Barbarians and the crueltie of the Saracens, Mamalucks, and Turkes, exceed not the number of fiftie thousand persons, and these dwell dispersed here and there, but principallie in the cities of Cairo, Messia, Monfalatto, Bucco, and Elchiasa, all placed vpon the bankes of Nilus. There are also many in the prouince of Minia, in which quarter appeare diuers monasteries. But among the monasteries of Egypt those of Saint *Anthonie*, Saint *Paul*, and Saint *Macarius* are the principal. The first lieth in Troglodytica right ouer against Sait vpon a hill, where Saint *Anthony* was said to be beaten by diuels: the second is seated not far from this, in the middest of a desert: the third standeth in the wildernes, to the west of Bulac. This is the monasterie which in some histories is called Nitria, as I thinke, bicause in that quarter the waters of Nilus, being thickned by the heate of the sun in low places, are conuerted into salt and niter. Georgia stood vpon Nilus, six miles from the city of Munsia, a rich and magnificent Conuent, so called after the name of Saint *George*. There were in the same more then two hundred

monkes, to the notable benefite and ease of pilgrimes & strangers, who were there curteously lodged. But they dying all of the plague, (about some hundred and fiftie yeeres sithence,) the place was abandoned.

Now to deliuer somewhat concerning the estates of these Christians: They are called by some *Cofti, and by others, Christians from the girdle vpward: for albeit they be baptized, as we are, yet do they circumcise themselues like to the Iewes: so as a man may say, their Christianitie comes no lower then the girdle-stead. But that which is woorse, they haue for these 1000. yeers followed the heresie of *Eutiches*, which alloweth but of one nature in Christ: by which heresie they also separate and dismember themselues, from the vnion of the Church of Europe. The occasion of this separation and schisme, was the Ephesine councell, assembled by *Dioscorus* in defence of *Eutiches*, who was now condemned in the Calcedon councell by sixe hundred and thirtie fathers congregated togither, by the authoritie of *Leo* the first. For the Cofti fearing, that to attribute two natures vnto Christ, might be all one, as if they had assigned him two hypostases or persons, to auoid the heresie of the Nestorians, they became Eutichians. They say their diuine seruice in the Chaldean toong, oftentimes repeating Alleluia. They read the Gospell first in Chaldean, and then in Arabick. When the priest saieth *Pax vobis*, the yoongest amongst them laieth his hand vpon all the people that are present. After consecration, they giue a simple peece of bread to the standers by: a ceremonie vsed also in Greece. They exercise their function in the church of Saint Marke amidst the ruines of Alexandria, and in that of Suez, vpon the red sea: they obey the Patriarke of Alexandria, and affirme themselues to be of the faith of *Prete Ianni*. In our daies two Popes haue attempted to reduce them to the vnion of the Romish church; *Pius* the fourth, and *Gregorie* the thirteenth.

* *Or Coptitæ.*

*Pius* the fourth in the yeere 1563. sent two Iesuit-priests for this purpose to Cairo; who staied there almost a yeere, but to no purpose, and with great danger of life: for one of them was appointed to the fire, from which he escaped by meanes of a merchant; who with eight hundred crownes pacified the Turkes, and caused the priest sodainly to flie away. But Pope *Gregorie* entred into this enterprise with more hope: for *Paulo Mariani* a famous Christian merchant, was at the same time in Cairo, who for his wisdome, magnificence, knowledge of toongs, and long practise in the affaires of the world, ioined with woonderfull eloquence, and presence of bodie, was in great esteeme and reputation, not onely among the Christians, but also with the Turkes, who equally loued him for his liberality, and honored him for his valour. This man had conference with the Patriarke of Alexandria about the reconciling of his people to the Romish church: whereunto the Patriarke not shewing himselfe difficult, or hard to be entreated, was contented to call by his letters into those parts, two priests of the same order, who were then with the Maronites in mount Libanus. In the meane while the Pope, who was aduertised of al this busines, taking the matter quickly in hand, wrote vnto the two priests, appointing one of them to go directlie to Cairo; and the other to returne back to Rome. Wherefore in the yeere 1582 in the moneth of October one of the said priests arriuing at Cairo, was courteouslie receiued by Mariani, and afterwards conducted to the Patriarke, who also made shew of great ioy and consolation. One might likewise perceiue a reasonable disposition in others who had any authority among the Cofti. He aduertised the Pope of all; who sent a certaine other priest, with one breefe to the Patriarke, and an other to the Iesuites, wherein he exhorted them to go forward, and to bring the vnion, whereof so assured hope was conceiued, to good effect. The Patriarke receiued the breefe

with great reuerence, he kissed it, and according to their custome, laid it vpon his head, and afterwards demanded what it comprehended: the which with great feeling, and contentment hauing vnderstood, within fewe daies he instituted a Synod of some bishops, and certaine other principall persons of the nation. Heere the said priests hauing declared vnto them vpon how little ground they, who at the first receiued the faith from Saint *Marke*, were sequestred from the western church by the authoritie of one heretike, tooke much paines afterward in making them capable of the difference that is betweene a nature and an Hypostasis or person, to their exceeding great admiration, bicause they were in a manner destitute of all learning. For the Patriarke euen from his youth had led his life in the monasterie of Saint Macarius, farre not onely from the studies of learning, but also from the conuersation of men, neither appeered there any greater knowledge in the bishops. They had scarcely any booke of the ancient fathers, and yet those they had, were all dustie, and eaten with mothes: That whereof they made chiefest account, was an old volume, being torne and rent, which they called *The confession of the Fathers*, full of diuers dreames and fables, whereof notwithstanding, and of some other Arabicke bookes, the priests made speciall good vse, for the conuincing of them in their errors. Also hauing framed a *compendium* of most necessarie doctrine, they caused diuers copies of the same to be drawne, and gaue them to the learned of the Cofti, to be considered of, who wondring at the strangenes of the things propounded vnto them, and not knowing how to answer the arguments of the priestes, demaunded time to search their owne writings, and to see what opinion their predecessors had held as concerning that point. In the meane while, they came often to the priests, and inquired of them the doctrine and forme of speech vsed in the Romish church. Whereupon they

shewed them how greatly the same church had euer detested heresies: and how seuerely it had condemned the impietie of *Nestorius*, and contrariwise highly esteemed the authoritie of *Cyrillus Alexandrinus*, and the decrees of the first Ephesine Councell. Neither (bicause it confesseth two natures in Christ, ioined in one person without confusion) doth it therefore inferre two hypostasis or persons. In that a nature and a person are not the selfe same things. The which may cleerely be vnderstoode by the deepe mysterie of the holy Trinitie, wherein we acknowledge one nature, and three Hypostasis or persons. We auer therfore, that there are two natures in Christ, one diuine, which he hath eternally from his Father, the other humane, which he tooke temporally from the immaculate wombe of his mother; both of them ioined in one hypostasis or person. By these and other like demonstrations, they cleered the vnderstandings, and confirmed the mindes of the Cofti. Howbeit, all this notwithstanding, the Synod being againe assembled (wherein were present, the Patriarke, fiue bishops, diuers abbots of monasteries, and thirtie other principall persons) they plainly answered the priests that they had turned ouer their Annales & writings, & were resolued in no wise to depart from the doctrine and faith of their predecessors. This vnlooked-for answer, though it greatly troubled and displeased the priests, yet were they determined still to continue, and to proceed further in the enterprise. Whereupon declaring vnto them againe, how farre they were by *Dioscorus* meanes estranged from the doctrine taught in the Nicen, Constantinopolitan, and first Ephesine councels, grounded on the authoritie of holy Scripture, and the ancient Fathers: and that to disallow of two natures in Christ, was no other but to denie that he was neither true God nor man, (a matter abhominable, not only to their eares, but euen to their very vnderstādings) they preuailed so much, as that the matter was yet deferred

off to an other moneth. Being therefore congregated the third time, it seemed that God himselfe furthered this affaire more then vsually: for first with common consent they abrogated the law of circumcision, and withall after a disputation of sixe howers continuance, it was decreed, that as concerning the truth of this point, the priests were to be beleeued, that there were two natures in Christ, and that the Cofti though they auoided the name and title of two natures, yet denied they not, but that Christ was true man, and true God. Onely they were warie of the two natures, for feare of falling by litle & litle into two hypostases. Thus this busines being brought to so good a passe, was by the ambition and obstinacie of one man vtterly crossed and hindred. This was the Vicar or Suffragan to the Patriarke, who aspiring himselfe to the Patriarkship, and seeing that if he followed this vnion begun with the Romaine church, he could not attaine to that dignitie, but by the Popes authoritie, (which he altogither misdoubted) he first made the decree of two natures to be deferred, commanding afterwards that none should subscribe thereunto, and finally caused the Patriarke wholie to giue ouer this busines, and to retire himselfe into the wildernes; whereas he continued for certaine months. Afterwards the priests vnderstanding where he was, wrot vnto him a letter, signifying therein, what a special desire they had to see him, and what domage the retiring of himselfe would procure to the sillie sheepe recommended vnto him by God, if he ratified not fully those things which were decreed vpon in the last assemblie. He curteously answered, making shew, that he would returne, when he had visited his dioces, and in the meane while they should expect him at Cairo. But while he thought vpon returne, his owne death interrupted him. The Cofti haue a law, or custome, that betweene the death of one Patriarke and the creation of an other, there must be in a maner an whole yeeres space, for so long it is

requisite, say they, that the church should bewaile the death of her spouse. Whereupon the priests, not to loose so much time, determined to go home into Italy, to acquaint the Pope with the successe of all things, and afterwards (neede so requiring) to returne. The Cofti vnderstanding thus much, writ letters to the Pope, wherin they partly thanked him for the care he had of them ; & partly lamented, that their recõciliation with the Romish church was not fully confirmed and finished. While the priests were about to depart on Saint Mathewes day in the morning, there came a route of armed Turkes to their lodging. These layde hands suddenly on two priests, and another companion of theirs, and on three Fryers of the order of Saint Francis, lodged in the same house. No man knew the reason of this hurly burly, but for as much as could be learned, all this grew through the enuie of a Frenchman. This man aspiring to the degree of Consull or Gouernor ouer his nation, which *Mariani* had obtayned, maliciously gaue the Bassa of Cairo to vnderstãd, that *Mariani* suborned the people against the grãd Signor, & that he had order from the K. of Spaine to leuie Christian men. And that to this end he kept in his house certaine priests, who practised in this behalf with *Mariani* for the king. There was nothing that more preiudiced the priests, then the Cofties letters, which bred a vehement suspition in the Turkes, that such an vnion might be concluded with the Roman Church, as might worke some extraordinarie innouation. They were therefore cast into a filthie and stinking prison. The Venetian Consull assayed first by word of mouth, and after by suite and supplication, to asswage the furie and anger of the Bassa ; Howbeit he receiued such bitter and nipping answeres, that he himselfe was also afraid. But nothing preuaileth further with the Turkes then money. For it seemeth that with this onely their sauage furie is mitigated, and their fiercenes appeased.

Fiue thousand crownes therefore were disbursed for the priests libertie, wherein the Cofti shewed themselues verie friendly, the richest of them offering one after another to lend money without any interest for the same. But this matter cost *Mariani* more then ten thousand crownes; and besides that, he was depriued of his degree of Consulship. The priests being thus freed out of prison, and obseruing how things went, returned one after another backe to Rome.

# A relation touching the state of *Christian Religion in the dominions of* Prete Ianni, taken out of an oration of *Matthew Dresserus*, professour of the Greeke and *Latine toongs, and of Histories, in the Vniuersitie of Lipsia.*

Who hauing first made a generall exordium to his *auditorie, proceedeth at length to the peculiar handling of the foresaid argument, in manner following.*

NOndum (saith hee) *vnius seculi ætas exacta est*, &c. The space of one hundred yeeres is not as yet fullie expired, since the fame of the Ethiopians religion came first vnto our eares. Which, because it is in many points agreeable vnto Christian veritie, and carrieth an honest shew of pietie therewith, is to be esteemed as a matter most worthie of our knowledge. Of this therefore, so far forth as the short time of an oration will permit, I purpose to intreate; to the end it may appeare, both where, and what manner of Christian church that of Ethiopia is, and what were the first beginnings thereof.

* *As the church in all the hither parts of Europe hath beene called the western, and that of Greece and Asia, the easterne church.*

This Ethiopian, not vnfitly called *The southerne church, is situate in Africa far south, namely vnder the Torrid Zone, betweene the Tropique of Cancer and the Equinoctial; some part thereof also stretching beyond the Equinoctial, towards the Tropique of Capricorne. Two summers they haue euery yeere, yea in a manner, one

continual summer: so that at the very same time in some fields they sowe, and in others they reape. Somewhere also they haue euery moneth ripe, some kinde of earthlie fruits or other, especiallie pulse. The people are skorched with the heate of the sun, and they are black, and go naked: saue onely that some couer their priuites with cloth of cotton or of silke. The countrie is very great, and containeth well nie twentie kingdomes; * so that it is almost as large as Europe, or as all Christendome in these parts. At the beginning indeed it had not aboue two kingdomes; but in processe of time it was mightily enlarged by the conquest of countries adiacent. For it is enuironed on all sides by vnbeleeuing gentiles and Mahumetans, who are most deadlie enimies to the Christian religion; with whome the emperour of Ethiopia is at continuall wars, endeuouring by all possible meanes to reclaime them from their heathenish Idolatry to the faith of Iesus Christ. It is reported that certaine bordering *Mores beare such implacable hatred against these Christians, that none of them may marry, before he bringeth testimony, that he hath slaine tuelue of them.

* *Whatsoeuer Dresserus thinketh; yet diuers other authors of good note do hold the dominions of Prete Ianni to be nothing so large.*

* *These Mores are called Dobas.*

The Emperour of Ethiopia is not called (as some imagine) Presbiter or priest; but Pretious *Iohn*. For in the Ethiopian toung he is termed Belul Gian, and in the Chaldean, Encoe Gian, both which additions signifie pretious or high; so that in a maner he commeth neer vnto the titles of our princes, who are called Illustres, Excelsi, Serenissimi, &c. to signifie, that they are exalted and aduanced aboue other people. And this is a common name to all the christian kings of Ethiopia; as *Pharao* was to the Egyptian kings, and *Augustus*, to the Roman emperours. Neither is this Pretious *Iohn* a priest by profession, but a ciuil magistrate; nor is he armed so much with religion and lawes, as with military forces.

Howbeit he calleth himselfe The piller of faith; because

he is the maintainer of the Christian faith, not onely enioining his owne subiects to the obseruation thereof; but (what in him lyeth) enforcing his enemies also to embrace it.

In times past Ethiopia was gouerned by Queenes onely. Whereupon we reade in the history of the old testament, that the Queene of the south came to King *Saloman* from Saba, to heare his admirable wisdome, about the yeere of the world 2954. The name of this Queen (as the Ethiopians report) was *Maqueda*, who from the head-city of Ethiopia called Saba (which like an Isle, is enuironed on all sides by the riuer Nilus) trauelled by Egypt and the Red sea to Ierusalem. And she brought vnto *Salomon* an hundred & twenty talents of gold, which amount to 720000. golden ducates of Hungarie, that is, seuen tunnes of gold, and 20000 Hungarian ducates besides. This mightie sum of gold, with other things of great value, she presented vnto *Salomon*, who likewise requited her with most princely giftes. She contended with him also in propounding of sage questions, & obscure riddles. Amongst other matters (as it is reported by *Cedrenus*) she brought before him certaine damosels, and yoong men in maides attire, asking the king, how he could discerne one sexe from another. He answered, that he would finde them out by the washing of their faces. And foorthwith he commanded all their faces to be washed, and they which washed themselues strongly, were found to be males; but the residue by their tender washing bewraied themselues to be damosels.

The Ethiopian kings suppose, that they are descended from the linage of *Dauid*, and from the family of *Salomon*. And therefore they vse to terme themselues the sonnes of *Dauid*, and of *Salomon*, and of the holy patriarkes also, as being sprung from their progenie. For Queene *Maqueda* (say they) had a sonne by *Salomon*, whome they named *Meilech*. But afterward he was called *Dauid*. This

*Meilech* (as they report) being growen to twentie yeeres of age, was sent backe by his mother vnto his father and instructor *Salomon*; that he might learne of him, wisedome and vnderstanding. Which so soone as the said *Meilech* or *Dauid* had attained: by the permission of *Salomon*, taking with him many priests and nobles, out of all the twelue tribes, he returned to his kingdome of Ethiopia, and tooke vpon him the gouernment thereof. As likewise he carried home with him the law of God, and the rite of circumcision.

These were the beginnings of the Iewish religion in Ethiopia. And it is reported, that euen till this present none are admitted into any ministry or canonship in the court, but such as are descended of their race that came first out of Iury. By these therfore the doctrine of God in Ethiopia was first planted, which afterward tooke such deepe root, as it hath since remained to all succeeding ages. For the Ethiopians did both retaine the bookes of the Prophets, and trauailed also to Ierusalem, that they might there worship the true God reuealed in the kingdome of Israel. Which manifestly appeereth out of the Historie of the Ethiopian Eunuch, whose name was *Indich*, which was a principall gouernour under Queene *Candaces*, properly called *Iudith*. For he about the tenth yeere after the death and resurrection of our blessed Sauiour, trauailed for the space of two hundred and fortie miles, to Ierusalem. Where hauing performed due worship vnto God, returning homeward, as he sate in his chariot, he read the prophet *Esaias*. And by the commandement of the holy Spirit, *Philip* one of Christ his disciples was sent vnto him. And when they were both come to the citie Bethzur, three miles distant from Ierusalem; the Eunuch at the foote of a mountaine espied a certaine water, wherein he was baptized by *Philip*. And being returned into Ethiopia, this Eunuch baptized the Queene, and a great part of her

*Acts of the Apost. cap. 8. verse 26.*

family and people. From which time the Ethiopians began to be Christians, who since that haue continually professed the Christian faith.

They beleeue also that *Philip* sent into Ethiopia a disciple of his called *Lycanon*, who (as they suppose) ordained the verie forme of religion which they now holde.

Now these beginnings aswel of the Iewish as the christian religion among the Ethiopians being thus declared: we are next to intreat of the doctrine & religion it selfe, togither with the rites & ceremonies vsed at this present in the Ethiopicke church, so far foorth as we can gather out of the ambassages which haue bin performed from these parts thither, & backe againe. Besides which there is no historie nor discourse of any worth to be found, which entreateth of the religion, maners, and customes of the Ethiopians. So as it is a matter very strange, that for so many hundred yeeres togither, Ethiopia was so barred from our knowledge, that we had not so much as any report thereof. Vntill about the yeere of our Lord 1440. certaine ambassadours sent from thence to Pope *Eugenius*, returned backe with his letters, and Papall benediction to their king. Which letters are most charily kept among the records of this Ethiopian king, and are preserued for perpetuall monuments.

From which time also, as though Ethiopia had beene againe quite debarred from the knowledge and conuersation of our men, there were not any Europeans that went into Ethiopia, till the yeere of our Lord 1486. what time *Iohn* the second king of Portugall sent *Pedro de Couilham*, and *Alonço de Paiua*, to search out Ethiopia. This *Pedro* was a man very learned, eloquent, skilfull in sundrie languages, painfull in his endeuors, fortunate in his attempts, and most desirous to finde out new countries and people both by sea and land. He therefore in the yeere aboue mentioned, togither with his companion *Alonço de*

*Paiua*, (who died in the voiage) trauailed first to Alexandria and Cairo in Egypt: from whence in the companie of certaine Mores of Fez and Tremizen, he proceeded on to El Tor, an hauen towne vpon the Arabian shore of the Red sea, and thence to Aden, situate without the entrance of the Arabian gulfe. Where hauing embarqued himselfe in a ship of Mores, he trauailed to Calicut, Goa, and other places of the East Indies; and being fully informed of the state of the Spiceries, he crossed ouer the maine Ocean to çofala, sailed thence to Ormuz, and then returned backe to Cairo. From whence (hauing dispatched letters vnto his king) in the company of *Rabbi Ioseph* a Iew, he made a second voiage to Ormuz; and in his returne he tooke his iourney towards Ethiopia, the Emperour whereof at that time, was called *Alexander*. Vnto whom when he had deliuered a letter and a mappe of the world sent from king *Iohn*, he was most kindly entertained, and rewarded with many rich gifts. And albeit he most earnestly desired to returne into his owne countrey, yet could he neuer obtaine leaue; but had wealth, honour, and a wife of a noble family bestowed vpon him, to asswage his desire of returning home. Wherefore in the yeere 1526. which was fortie yeeres after his departure out of Portugall, hee was left, by *Rodrigo de Lima* the Portugall ambassadour, still remaining in the court of *Prete Ianni*.

In all this meane while sundry Portugals came out of India to the court of the *Prete*, not so much to visite and salute him, as to declare the good will and kinde affection of their king towards him. Whereupon Queene *Helena*, which was then protectresse of the Ethiopian or Abassin empire, to requite the king of Portugal with like friendship, sent vnto him in the company of the foresaid Portugals an ambassador or messenger of hers, called *Matthew*, who was a merchant borne in Armenia, being a man skilfull in sundry languages and in many other matters. This

*Matthew the first ambassador sent from Aethiopia to Portugall.*

*Matthew* she not onely furnished with letters requisite for such an ambassage; but enioined him also to declare by word of mouth vnto the king of Portugal the principall heads of their doctrine or beleefe, together with their rites and customes, and the present state of the whole church of Ethiopia. Moreouer shee presented him with a little crosse made (as they suppose) of a piece of that very crosse, whereon our sauiour Christ was crucified; with many other tokens and pledges of mutuall christian amity. Thus *Matthew* being dismissed, tooke his iourney to the east Indies; from whence he was conducted by sea into Portugal; where arriuing in the yeere 1513, he did his message, according to Queene *Helenas* directions, vnto the king *Don Emanuel.*

The king taking wonderfull delight at this message, and at these guiftes which were sent him from a Christian prince so far remote, not long after prepared a new *ambassage, with letters, and presents of exceeding value; in which ambassage the pietie and vertue of *Francis Aluarez* a Portugal priest extraordinarily appeered. For he remaining sixe whole yeeres in the court and countrie of Ethiopia, tooke there most diligent notice of all matters worthie the obseruation. And he had often and familiar conference not onely with the emperour himselfe, but also with the patriarke, concerning the whole state of their religion, and of matters ecclesiasticall; as also he was a most curious obseruer of all their rites and ceremonies. Who in the yeere of Christ 1526. being dismissed by *Prete Ianni*, was accompanied into Portugall by another Ethiopian or Abassin ambassadour called *Zagazabo*, and brought letters also to Pope *Clement* the seuenth, with a golden crosse of a pound weight. It seemeth likewise that the said ambassadour of *Prete Ianni* was a very honest, vpright, and godly man, who by reason of their continuall warres was detained in Portugall till the yeere of our Lord 1539.

* *This ambassage was at the first vndertaken by Odoardo Galuano: who dying at the isle of Camaran in the Red sea, it was performed by Rodrigo de Lima.*

*Zagazabo the second ambassador sent from A Ethiopia to Portugall.*

The letters of *Prete Ianni* to the Pope, were by *Francis Aluarez* deliuered at Bononia, in the yeere of Christ 1533. Where in the presence of *Charles* the Emperour, and before a mightie assembly of people, they were read and approoued with great ioy and acclamation. Both which letters, as well to the Pope as to the king *Don Emanuel*, were full of Christian pietie and loue: wherein first that mightie Emperour (though therein he was deceiued) with singular reuerence and dutie, submitted himselfe vnto the Pope of Rome, as to the head of all the church; offering by the said *Francis* most humble obedience, after the manner of other Christian princes. As likewise he profered vnto them both, the offices of beneuolence, charity, and true friendship, intending to ioine a firme league of amitie with them, and signifying that his dominions were free and open to all Christians, that would by sea or land frequent the same. Also he plainly seemed to detest the mutuall discords of Christians, exhorting them to bandy their forces against the Mahumetans, and promising his roiall assistance, and most earnest endeuour, for the vanquishing of Christs enimies, and their conuersion to the truth. Lastly he required, that men of learning, and of skill in the holy Scriptures, as likewise diligent Printers, and all sorts of artificers might be sent him, to be emploied in the seruice of his church and common wealth. Signifying that he would not violently detaine any man in his dominions, but would dismisse him into his owne countrey, with honour, and liberall rewards. And that he might testifie his louing and kind affection to the king of Portugall, by a most woorthie monument, he sent him the crowne off his owne head, as the present of a dutifull sonne to his most deere father.

Wherefore by this most admirable diligence and industrie of the Portugals, Ethiopia in these last times hath beene discouered and made knowne vnto vs. Neither is there

any thing in the Ethiopians religion so hidden and vnreuealed, which hath not either beene found out by *Francis Aluarez*, or most largely declared by *Zagazabo* the Ethiopian ambassadour. Out of the relations therefore of these two woorthy authors, as out of a fountaine, we will deriue the whole substance of our speech.

The ground of the Ethiopicke religion is the profession of one true God, and of his sonne Iesus Christ, which of all Christians is the peculiar and proper marke, whereby onely they are to be named Christians. Concerning this maine point the Ethiopians faith stands most firme and entire: for they togither with vs do confesse and adore one God and three persons of the deitie, God the father, God the sonne begotten of his father from euerlasting, who for vs men was incarnate, died, and rose againe; and God the holy Ghost proceeding from the father and the sonne. In this article they follow the holy creed of the Apostles, and the Nicene creed. Saue that they hold that Christ descended into hell for his owne soule, and for the soule of *Adam*, which he receiued of the virgine *Marie*. For this opinion they do most stedfastly embrace; saying that it came by most ancient tradition from Christ himselfe to his Apostles.

The old testament they so conioine with the new, as they allow and receiue both Iewish & Christian ceremonies. Vpon the eight day after their birth, *they circumcise all children both male and female. And vnlesse sicknes vrgeth them to make the more haste, they defer the baptisme of their male children till they be fortie, and of their females, til they be eightie daies old. Circumcision (they say) they receiued from Queene *Maqueda*, which went to heare the wisdome of *Salomon*: and baptisme from Saint *Philip*, and from the Eunuch which *Philip* baptized. Yet do they stedfastly hold, that not by circumcision, but by faith in Iesus Christ they attaine vnto true felicitie.

* *Whereas the Iewes circumcised the males onely.*

Their baptisme they renue euerie yeere: for vpon the day of the three Sages, otherwise called Epiphanie, whereon Christ was baptised in Iordan, they meet in great assemblies, and enter naked into the water; where the priest layeth his hand vpon them, dippeth them thrise, and pronounceth the words of baptisme, saying, I baptise thee in the name of the father, the sonne, and the holy ghost; adding thereto the signe of the crosse. This custome receiued from their predecessors they doe most carefully obserue, not thereby to abase or extenuate their first baptisme; but that euerie yeere they may receiue a new absolution from their sinnes. Also vnto their infants vpon the verie day of their baptisme, they giue the bodie of our Lord, vnder a small morsell of bread. But such as are growen to yeeres of discretion before they come vnto the Lords holy supper, do make confession and receiue absolution of all their sinnes from the priest. Then doe they all betimes in the morning both clergie and laytie receiue the whole sacrament of the bodie and true blood of Iesus Christ in their churches. Which being receiued, they may not vnder paine of grieuous punishment, so much as once spit, till the going downe of the sunne.

Popish confirmation and vnction, they neither esteeme for sacraments nor vse them. The Pope of Rome, either in regard of errour and ignorance, or to win his fauour, they acknowledge to be head of the church, and doe pretend a kinde of obedience to the sea of Rome. Albeit that the Pope, before the Portugals discouerie of the east Indies could neuer communicate any assistance vnto them, *nor yet since that time, by reason of the huge distance almost of fifteene thousand miles. For so many miles the ambassadour, which was sent out of Portugall to Ethiopia, said that he had trauailed. [*It is nothing so long a iourney through Egypt, Troglodytica, and Barnagasso, but that the way through those countries is stopped by the tyrannie of the*

** Yet in the time of Pope Paule the 4. were sent certaine priests with a new created Patriarke, and two Bishops: who notwithstanding when they went seriously about to bring*

*in the Romish religion, and the supremacie of the Pope, were crossed by the Emperour in all their proceedings.*

*Turkes.*] Howbeit Queene *Helena*, and after her king *Dauid*, seeme onely to haue sought and desired some coniunction with the Romish church, and the Christians of Europe: to the end that with their powers and forces vnited, they might assaile and vanquish the Mahumetans, being most deadly enimies to the Christian name.

Moreouer these Ethiopick Christians do vse to fast vpon certaine daies of the weeke till sun set: as namely vpon Wednesdaies, to renue the sadde memorie of the Iewes councell, wherein they decreed to crucifie our Redeemer: and vpon Fridaies, that they may with thankfull mindes acknowledge his most bitter passion and death. Likewise the day of Good Fridaie, whereon our blessed Sauiour was nailed to the crosse, they celebrate with great deuotion, especially towards the euening. Vnto these they adde a Lent of fortie days, wherein they liue onely by bread and water. The feasts both of Christ, of the virgine *Marie*, and of certaine Saints, they keepe holie: vpon which daies meeting in their churches three hours after sunne-rising, they read the bookes of the Prophets, and emploie themselues in holy exercises. They sanctifie the Sabaoth in imitation of the Iewes; and keepe holy the Lords day according to the apostles institution. On both these daies they worship God by performing things holie, and eschuing matters prophane. Into their churches they may not come but barefoote onely; neither is it there lawfull for any man to walke vp and downe, nor to talke of worldly affaires, nor to spit, nor cough.

The chiefe vse of the law (they say) is to shew vs our sinnes: neither do they thinke any man liuing able to performe the same, but onely Iesus Christ who fulfilled it on our behalfe. The Saints they loue indeed and reuerence, but doe not pray vnto them. Vnto the blessed virgine *Marie* the mother of Christ, they ascribe great honour, but neither do they adore her, nor craue assistance at her

hands. They haue euery day one masse onely, and that a short one, in stead of a sacrifice: but, gaines thereby they make none at all. Neither do they eleuate or holde vp the sacrament of the supper, as the masse-priests do: nor applie the same to redeeme dead mens soules from the paines of purgatorie. Howbeit, that there is a place of purgatorie, they do not denie. Wherefore their dead are buried with crosses and supplications, and especially with the rehearsall of the beginning of Saint *Iohns* Gospell. Then the day following they offer almes for them, and vpon certaine daies after they adde funerall-banquets; supposing that vpon Sabaoths and the Lords daies, they which died godly, are freed from all torments in Purgatorie, and at length, hauing receiued the full measure of chastisement for their sinnes, that then they go into eternal rest. For the effecting whereof, they do not thinke any indulgencies of their patriarke, but onely the meere mercy and grace of God to be auailable.

Mariage is no lesse permitted to their clergie and priests, then to their laie-people: yet so, that his first wife being dead, a priest cannot marry another without the Patriarkes dispensation. Whosoeuer keepeth a concubine is debarred from all sacred administrations. And whatsoeuer bishop or clergie-man is found to haue a bastard, he is vtterly depriued of holy orders, and of all his benefices and spirituall dignities. Mariages are often solemnized without the church, a bed being placed before the house of the bride and the bridegroome. Then come three priests, who going thrise about the bridegromes bed, sing with a loud voice Halleluiah, and other things. This done, they cut one locke of haire from the bridegroomes head, and another from the head of the bride, which they wash in wine made of hony; and then putting vpon either of their heads the others lock, they sprinkle them with a kinde of holy-water, and so depart. Which being performed the

mariage-feast beginneth, and holdeth on till the night be far spent. At length the bride and bridegroom are brought vnto their owne house, out of which neither of them may go forth for the space of an whole moneth after.

In some places they are maried in the church by the patriarke himselfe. Where the mariage-bed standing in manner aforesaid, the patriarke with sweet incense and crosses walketh thrice about it, and then turning himselfe towards them, he layeth his hand vpon the bridegroomes head, saying: *Do that which god hath commanded in his gospel, and thinke now that you are not two but one flesh.* Hauing spoken these words, he administreth the communion vnto them, and blesseth them. Polygamie, or many wiues at once, are permitted by the emperour and ciuill magistrate vnto the Ethiopians: but in their churches there is no place at all for such as haue more wiues then one. Neither may any such persons presume to enter into their churches, but are held as excommunicate, and are not receiued into the congregation, before hauing put away all the residue of their wiues, they betake themselues to one onely.

Diuorcements they vse very commonlie, and often vpon light occasions except onely the priests, who may by no meanes depart from their wiues. Whereby it appeareth, that their priests approue not that inconstancie in a matter of so great moment. The best remedy which they haue to preuent this mischiefe, is at the daye of mariage to alotte some great penalty vpon that person which shall first forsake the other. Amongst them likewise, according to the law of Moses, brothers vse to marry their brothers wiues, to raise vp seede vnto them. Howbeit this abuse of mariage is not practised by all, but onely by the mightier sort. For the country-people and those of poorer condition, being euery one contented with his owne wife, do so painefully employ themselues about their labour, and the

getting of their liuing, that they are free from those violent passions of lust.

Infants that die before baptisme they name halfe christians, because being sanctified onely by the faith of Christian parents, they are not as yet by baptisme thoroughly engraffed into the church. From meates, which the law of Moses accounted vncleane, they also do abstaine. The heresies of Arrius, Macedonius, and Nestorius, they reiect and condemne.

The whole church of Ethiopia is gouerned by a patriark called in the Ethiopick language *Abuna*, which signifieth, A Father. This patriark of theirs is first solemnely created at Ierusalem by the voices of those monkes which keepe the sepulchre of our Lord. Afterward hee is confirmed, and sent into Ethiopia by the patriarke of Alexandria, The emperour *Prete Ianni*, so often as there is need of a new patriark, sendeth an ambassage with many gifts to Ierusalem, and requireth a patriark from thence. Which patriarke, together with a monke of the order of Saint *Antony* the Hermite, being come into Ethiopia, is according to an ancient custome, receiued with the generall consent, congratulation, applause, and reioycing of all degrees and estates of people. To this high function is singled out some one man of singular piety, grauity, learning, and of more ancient yeeres then the rest. His speciall duties are to giue holy orders, to administer church-discipline, and to excommunicate contumaces or obstinate offenders, which are for their stubbornnes famished to death. But the authoritie of giuing Bishopricks and spirituall benefices, the Emperour reserueth to himselfe. In Ethiopia there are infinit numbers of priests, and of monkes. *Francis Aluarez* saw at one time ordained by the Patriarke two thousand three hundred fiftie sixe priests. And the like manner of ordaining or instalment they haue euerie yeere twice. It seemeth that those which are chosen

into that order, are men destitute of learning and liberall artes. Vnto their priesthood none is admitted before he be full thirtie yeeres of age. It falleth out likewise, that during the vacation of the Patriarkship, the church hath great want of priests. Which vacation is oftentimes prolonged by reason of the continuall wars betweene the Christians and the bordering Mahumetans, and Gentiles: whereby all passage from Ethiopia to the monks of Ierusalem is quite cut off. Hence proceedeth great desolation in that church. But with monks all places in this Abassin empire do mightily swarme. These do not onely confine themselues in monasteries, wherof here are great numbers, but also take vpon them offices in the court, and intangle themselues in militarie affaires, and in buying and selling of merchandize. Neither are there anie kinde of people in those easterne parts more conuersant in trade of merchandize then priests and monkes. So that the old said sawe is most truelie verified:

*What ere the world doth put in vre,*
*The Monke will intermeddle, sure.*

It is likewise to be noted, that the priests, monkes, and other ministers of the Ethiopian church, are not maintained by tithes and almes as they are in Europe. They haue onelie certaine fieldes and gardens, which must be manured by the monkes and clergie themselues. To beg ought of the common people they are in no wise permitted, vnlesse perhaps some man will of his owne accorde bestowe somewhat in their churches for the exequies of the dead, or for some other sacred vses.

These Ethiopians haue a certaine booke, which they suppose to haue beene written by all the Apostles when they were assembled at Ierusalem. This booke in their language they call Manda and Abetilis: and do beleeue that all thinges therein contained are to be holden for

gospel. In it, amongst other matters, are contained certaine penal statutes; as for example. If a priest be conuicted of Adultery, Man-slaughter, Robberie, or periurie, he is to receiue like punishment with other malefactors. Likewise, that aswell ecclesiasticall, as secular persons, are to abstaine from comming to church for the space of fower and twentie howers after carnall copulation. Some lawes also there are, concerning the purification of women after their moneths, and their child-birth: which, bicause we can make but little vse of them, I do heere passe ouer in silence. One thing there is in this booke very well prouided, namely, that twice euery yeere there be a Synod assembled in the church of Christ, for the handling and discussing of all matters ecclesiasticall.

These are the principall points of the religion, faith, and ceremonies of the Ethiopicke church vnder *Prete Ianni*, which hitherto haue come to our knowledge. A good part whereof is agreeable vnto the scriptures of the old and new testament. And such in very deed they are, as represent vnto vs the acknowledgement of one true God, and the faith and worship of our onely Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ. But as neuer any church vpon earth was quite voide of blemish: so neither is this of Ethiopia free from all staines of errour. Which notwithstanding may seeme the lesse strange, bicause in Ethiopia there are no schooles nor Seminaries of liberall artes, saue only, that the priests themselues (according to their simple skill) traine vp their sonnes vnto such learning, as may in time make them capable of priesthood. Neither was there euer any man yet, that reformed their errors. *Francis Aluarez* reporteth, that the Patriarke of this Ethiopick church, in a certaine priuate conference, did grieuously complaine of all such errours as were there maintained, and was most earnestly desirous of a reformation. Which desire of his, as it is most holy & cõmendable; so is it by al christiãs to

be approoued. God almightie grant, that the Ethiopians may one daie attaine to the accomplishment of this his compassionate well-wishing, and may haue a happie reformation of their church. For this to desire and praie for, is farre more conuenient and Christian-like, then to disgrace them with reprochfull words, and to bereaue them of the name of Christians. Which harde and vnchristian measure, *Zagazabo* the Ethiopian ambassadour, reporteth with griefe, that he found among the Popish priests of Portugall; by whom he was quite restrained from the vse and communion of the holie supper, as if he had beene a meere Gentile, or Anathema.

It is indeed an errour, or rather a great infirmitie, that they do as yet retaine and vse some of the Iewish ceremonies. But we are wholie to impute it to their ignorance of Christian liberty. And wheras they permit mariage to their priests, it is neither repugnant to the sacred word of God, nor to the institution of the Apostles. Wherefore it ought not to be disallowed of any Christians. Vnlesse they will preferre the decrees of the Pope before the commandement of God, established by Christ and his apostles. Wherby it may plainly appeere how impiously and sauagely the Priests of Portugall dealt, in that especially for this cause they so sharpely inueied against the Ethiopick ambassadour, and so vnciuilly entreated him.

Their yeerely renewing of baptisme, was at the first brought in by errour, and since by ancient vse and tradition, hath growen authenticall. For in very deed so great is the force of antiquitie and custome, that where they once take roote, they can hardly be remooued. And it is a woonder that the Ethiopians do so often repeat baptisme, when as they cannot be circumcised any more then once. But in regard of all these defects, what can we better deuise to do, then in our daily praiers to wish them mindes better informed, and the puritie and integritie of faith, which is

agreeable vnto gods worde? The Ethiopians conceiued exceeding ioy at the first arriuall of the Portugals in their countrie: hoping that their mutuall acquaintance and familiaritie, would breed a similitude and coniunction, as well of their religions, as of their affections and mindes. But I am verily afraid, least the reprochfull and sterne carriage of the Popish priests and monkes towards the Ethiopick ambassadours before mentioned, hath more then euer in times past estranged the mindes of that nation from the Christians of Europe.

Howbeit the singular care and industrie of those two renowmed Princes, *Iohn* the second, and *Emanuel*, kings of Portugall, is most highly to be extolled and celebrated, who by infinit charges emploied vpon their nauigations to The east Indies, and to these parts, haue opened a way for the European Christians, to the southerne church of Ethiopia; and for the Ethiopians to this westerne church of Europe. Which had not these two woorthie Princes brought to effect; we should not so much as haue knowne the name of a Christian church in Ethiopia. For thither by the way of Arabia and Egypt, in regard of the Arabians and Mahumetans most deadly enmitie to the Christian faith, it is so dangerous and difficult to trauell, as it seemeth to be quite barred and shut vp. Vnlesse therefore ouer the Atlantike, Ethiopick, and Indian seas the Portugals had thither found a passage by nauigation; it had almost beene impossible for any ambassadours or other persons, to haue come out of Ethiopia into these westerne parts. Thus farre *Matthew Dresserus.*

# An ambassage sent from Pope *Paule* the fourth *to* Claudius *the Emperour of Abassia or the higher* Ethiopia, for planting of the religion and ceremonies of the *church of Rome in his dominions; which ambassage tooke none effect at all.*

IN the yeere 1555 *Iohn* the third king of Portugal, determined to leaue no meanes vnattempted for the absolute reconciliation of *Prete Ianni* vnto the church of Rome. For though *Dauids* ambassador had performed obedience to Pope *Clement* the seuenth on his emperours behalfe; yet doubted the king of Portugal (as true it was) that for want of speedie prosecution, those forward beginnings would proue but altogether fruitlesse; in that for all this, they still embraced the heresies of Dioscorus and Eutiches, and depended on the authoritie of the Patriark of Alexandria, receiuing their Abuna from him, who is the sole arbitrator of all their matters ecclesiasticall, the administrer of their sacraments, the giuer of orders ouer all Ethiopia, master of their ceremonies, and Instructer of their faith. Whereupon he supposed, that he could not do anything more profitable, or necessarie, then to send thither a Patriark appointed at Rome, who might exercise spirituall authority ouer them, as also with him some priests, of singular integrity and learning, who with their sermons, disputations, & discourses both publike and priuate, might reduce those people from their errors and heresies to the trueth, and might confirme

and strengthen them in the same. And vnto this, it seemed a wide gate was already open; because not many yeeres before, *Claudius* the emperour of Ethiopia receiued great succours from the Portugals, against Graadamet king of Zeila, who had brought him to an hard point; and in a letter written from him to *Stephen Gama*, he called *Christopher Gama* his brother, who died in this war, by the reuerend name of a Martyr. The king of Portugal therefore hauing imparted this his resolution, first with Pope *Iulius* the third, and then with *Paul* the fourth, it was by them concluded to send into Ethiopia thirteene priests, men of principall estimation and account aboue others of their qualitie. *Iohn Nunnes* Barretto was made Patriark, and there were ioyned vnto him two assisting Bishops, *Melchior Carnero*, and *Andrea Ouiedo*, vnder titles of the Bishops of Nicea, and Hierapolis. King *Iohn* set forth this ambassage, not onely with whatsoeuer the voiage it selfe necessarily required, but further with all royall preparation, and rich presents for *Prete Ianni*. Neuerthelesse, the better to lay open an entrance for the Patriarke, there was by the kings appointment sent before from the city of Goa Iago Dias, and with him *Gonsaluo Rodrigo*, into Ethiopia, to discouer the minde of the Neguz, and the disposition of his people. These two being admitted to the presence of that Prince, shewed him the letters of king *Iohn*, wherein he congratulated with him, on the behalfe of all Christians; for that following the example of his grandfather, and father, he had embraced the Christian faith, and vnion. Whereat *Claudius* was amazed, as at a thing neuer before thought of. And it being demaunded, why he had written to the king of Portugal to that effect, he excused himselfe by the writer, and interpreter of his letter: adding thereunto, that though hee esteeemed that king as his very good brother, yet was he neuer minded to swerue one iot from the faith of his predecessors. *Roderigo* for all this, was no

*The Emperour of Ethiopia wil by no meanes admit the supremacie and religion of the Romish church.*

whit daunted, but wrought all meanes to bring *Claudius* to his opinion. But the greatest difficultie against this his busie enterprise, was the ignorance of the emperour and the princes of Ethiopia in all the generall Councels, and ancient Histories. Afterwards perceiuing that the Neguz did not willingly admit him to audience, he wrote and diuulged a booke in the Chaldean toong; wherein confuting the opinions of the Abassins, he laboured mightily to aduance the authoritie of the Romaine church. Which booke raised so great a tumult, that the emperour, to auoide woorse inconueniences which were likely to ensue, was faine quickly to suppresse it. *Iago Diaz* perceiuing that he did but loose time, & the terme of his returne approching, tooke his leaue of the Neguz. And hauing made knowne in Goa, how matters stood, it was not thought requisite that the Patriarke should expose his owne person, togither with the reputation of the Romaine church, vnto so great hazard. But rather, not wholy to abandon the enterprise, they determined to send thither *Andrew Ouiedo*, (newe elect bishop of Hierapolis) with two or three assistants, who with greater authoritie might debate of that which *Roderigo* alreadie had so vnfruitfully treated of. *Ouiedo* most willingly vndertaking this attempt, put himselfe on the voiage, with father *Emanuel Fernandez*, and some fewe others. When he was come into Abassia he stood in more need of patience then disputation. For king *Claudius* within a fewe moneths after, being vanquished and slaine, *Adamas* his brother succeeded, who was a great enemie to the sea of Rome. This man drew *Ouiedo* and his assistants, to the warres with him, and intreated them most barbarously, as also those Abassins whom they had conuerted. He likewise was afterwards ouerthrowne in battaile by the Turkes, who stripped *Ouiedo* and his companions of all things that they had. Whereupon they grew into such pouertie and miserie, as (all helpe failing them)

*Adamas a new Emperour of Ethiopia.*

they were enforced to get their liuing with the plough and spade, till they all died one after another. This Ethiopian Christianitie is brought at this day to an hard point, by the inuasions of the Turkes and Mores, as is before declared. Notwithstanding their religious men affirme, that they haue prophesies of the comming of a Christian nation to their Ports from farre countries, with whom they shall go to the destruction of the Mores: and these they hold to bee Portugals. They haue farther, certaine presagements of Saint *Sinoda*, who was an Egyptian Hermite, of the ruine of Meca, the recouerie of the holy sepulcher, and the taking of Egypt and Cairo, by the Abassins, vnited with the Latines.

### *Of the Christians of the Isle of Socotera.*

VIcinitie of place and conformitie of customes inuite mẽ to crosse the sea, and to visite the Christians of Socotera. This island is sixtie miles long, and fiue and twentie in bredth. It is situate ouer against the Red sea. The people thereof receiued the faith from Saint *Thomas* the Apostle: for they affirme, that heere he suffered ship-wracke, and that of the broken and battered ship he built a church, which is as yet extant. They imitate for the most part the rites, customes, and fashions of the Abassins, but with great ignorance and errour: for being separated from all commerce with the Christians of these parts, they remaine depriued of that spirituall helpe, which the westerne church by communication might impart vnto them. They retaine circumcision, and some other Moisaicall ceremonies. Also they pray for the dead, and obserue ordinarie fasts: hauing prefixed howers for praier, and bearing great reuerence to their religion, in honour whereof, they build chappels, wherein assembling togither, with an high and loude voice, they make supplications and prairs in the Hebrew toong. But their farre distance (as I said) from

these parts of Christendome, the sterilitie of the island, and the pouertie of the people, are occasions that the little light of truth which they have, is in a manner quite eclipsed by multitudes of errors. Vnto other things may be added the tyrannie of the king of Fartac a Mahumetan, who subdued them about the yeere of our Lord 1482. and partly by dominion, partly by affinitie and kinred, and partly also by conuersation, brought in amongst them the deadly poison of *Mahumet*. From this seruitude they were delivered by *Tristan d'Acunna*, one of the king of Portugals captaines; sixe and twentie yeeres after they fell into the same. And for their better securitie, he repaired the fortresse, leauing therein a Portugall garrison. But bicause the charges farre surmounted any benefite that came out of the island, not long after the said fortresse was ruinated, and the island abandoned by the Portugals. *Iohn* the third king of Portugall had a great desire to assist and free them from the tyrannie of the Turkes: whereunto after the taking of Aden they were subiect. But for feare of prouoking the great Turke, or giuing him occasion to disturbe and molest those seas with his fleetes, as also for the dispatching of other affaires he had in hand, he neuer went about that enterprise.

*Fartac a countrey of Arabia Felix; the king whereof subdued the isle of Zocotera*, 1482.

## *Of the Christians of Nubia.*

*Francis Aluarez* in his Aethiopicke relation, writeth, that he being at the court of *Prete Ianni*, there arriued certaine ambassadors frõ Nubia, to make sute vnto that prince, for some priests, and ministers of the Gospell and sacraments, by whom they might be instructed in the Christian faith. But *Prete Ianni* answered them, that he had not enough for his owne countrey: whereupon they returned home very discõtent, so that hauing no helpe from the Christians, & on the other side being daily sollicited by the Mahumetans, vpon whom they border on many sides,

it is thought, that at this present, they remaine in a manner without any religion at all. Notwithstanding at this day, there are more then an hundred and fiftie churches standing, with diuers other notes and signes of Christianitie. Their language partaketh much with the Egyptian, and no lesse with the Chaldean and Arabick.

*Of the Christians in the kingdome of Congo.*

HItherto we haue described that little, which remaineth of the ancient Christianity of Africk. It now resteth, that we giue some notice of that, which hath beene brought in of late. Congo is a kingdome about the bignes of France, situate (as is before said) beyond the equinoctiall betweene Cabo da Catherina, and Bahia das vacas. It was conuerted to Christian religion, by the meanes of *Don Iohn* the second king of Portugal, in manner following. *Don Diego Cano* a captaine of that king, by his commission coasting along Africa, after a great nauigation, arriued at length in the great riuer of Zaire; and attempting to sail vp into it, he discouered along the banks thereof many townes, where he found much more affability in the inhabitants, then in those of other countries which before he had discouered. And that he might be able to giue the more faithfull aduertisement thereof to his king, his hart moued him to go to the court of that kingdome. Whither being come, and courteously brought to the kings presence, he shewed them the vanity of their Idolatry, & the high reuerence of christian faith. And he found in that Prince so good a disposition, as returning into Portugal, besides an ambassador he was permitted to carry with him certaine youths of noble parentage, to the end they might learne the Christian doctrine, and be well instructed therein; and being baptized also, might afterwards be sent back with Portugall priests to preache the gospel, and to plant the Christian faith in that kingdome. These youthes remained

in Portugall two yeeres, and were there liberally entertained, and with all diligence instructed in matters of religion, and were at length with great solemnity baptized. When they came to riper yeeres, king *Iohn* sent them back againe into their owne countrey, with an honorable ambassage, in whose company went for teachers and instructers of that nation three Dominick-Fryers, reputed for men of exquisit learning and holy life. Being arriued in Congo, they first cõuerted *Mani-Sogno* the kings vncle, with one of his sonnes. After that ensued the baptisme of the king and Queene; for which cause in short time, there was a goodly Church erected, vnder the name and title of *Santa Cruz.* And in the meane while there were infinit Idols burnt. The king was called *Iohn*, the Queene *Leonora*, and his eldest sonne *Alonso.* This *Alonso* was a singular good man, who not being satisfied in his owne conuersion, laboured also with a kind of Apostolicall zeale for the conuersion of his subiects. But let no man thinke, that the planting of religion can euer passe without some labour and trouble. These Dominick-Fryers, besides the intemperature of the aire and vnusuall heat, which consumed them, were also euilly entreated by the *Moci-Congi. For although they shewed themselues docible, and tractable enough, while they were instructed onely about ceremonies, and diuine mysteries, (because they thought, that the higher those matters were aboue humaine capacity, the more they sorted and were agreable to the maiestie of God) neuerthelesse when they began to entreate seriously of Temperance, continence, restitution of other mens goods, forgiuing of iniuries, and other heades of Christian pietie, they found not onely great hinderance and difficultie, but euen plaine resistance and opposition. The king himselfe, who had from the beginning shewed notable zeale, was now somewhat cooled; who because he was loth to abandon his soothsaiers and fortune-tellers, but aboue all, the multi-

** So are the inhabitants of Congo called.*

tude of his concubines (this being a generall difficultie among the Barbarians) would by no meanes giue care vnto the Preachers. Also the women (who were now reiected one after another) not enduring so suddenly to be banished from their husbandes, brought the court and roiall citie of Saint Saluador into a great vproare. **Paulo Aquitino* second sonne to the king, put tow to this fire, who would by no meanes be baptized; for which cause there grew great enmity betwixt him and *Alonso* his elder brother, who with all his power furthered the proceedings, and maintained the grouth of the Christian religion. During these troubles, the old king died, and the two brothers fought a battell, which had this successe; that *Alonso* the *true heire, with sixe and thirtie soldiers, calling vpon the name of Iesus, discomfited the huge armie of his heathenish brother, who was himselfe also taken aliue, and died prisoner in this his rebellion. God fauoured *Alonso* in this warre, with manifest miracles. For first they affirme, that being ready to enter into battaile, he saw a light so cleere and resplendent, that he and his companie which beheld it, remained for a good while with their eies declined, and their mindes so full and replenished with ioy and a kind of tender affection, that cannot easily be expressed. And then lifting vp their eies vnto heauen, they sawe fiue shining swords, which the king tooke afterwards for his armes, and his successors vse the same at this day.

* *So called by Osorius lib. 3. de Reb. Gest. Eman. But by Phil. Pigafetta. lib. 2. Cap. 2. Manipango.*

* *Osorius de Reb. Gest. Eman. lib. 3.*

Hauing obteined this victorie, he assembled all his nobles, and streightly enioined them to bring all the idols of his countrey to an appointed place, and so vpon an high hill, he caused them all to be burned. This *Alonso* raigned prosperously for fiftie yeeres togither, in which space he exceedingly furthered by authoritie and example, as also by preaching and doctrine, the new-planted Christianitie. Neither did *Don Emanuell* the king of Portugall giue ouer this enterprise: for he sent from thence to Congo, twelue

of those Fryers which the Portugals call Azzurri, of whom Fryer *Iohn Mariano* was head: with architects and smiths for the building and seruice of Churches, and with rich furniture for the same. After king *Alonso*, succeeded *Don Pedro* his sonne: in whose time there was a Bishop appointed ouer the isle of Saint Thomas, who had also committed vnto him the administration of Congo. Where, at the citie of Saint Saluador, was instituted a colledge of eight and twentie Canons in the Church of Santa Cruz. The second bishop was of the bloud roiall of Congo, who trauailed to Rome, and died in his returne homeward. *Don Francisco* succeeded *Don Pedro*, who continued but a small space: & *Don Diego* his neere kinsman was after his decease aduanced to the crowne. In whose time *Iohn* the third king of Portugall, vnderstanding that neither the king himselfe cared greatly for religion, and that the merchants and priests of Europe furthered not, but rather with their bad life scandalized the people now conuerted, he sent thither fower Iesuits, to renew and reestablish matters of religion. These men arriuing first at the isle of Saint Thomas, and then at Congo, were courteously receiued by the king: and presently going about the busines they came for, one of them tooke vpon him to teach sixe hundred yoong children the principles of christian religion: and the others dispersed themselues ouer the whole countrie to preach. But all of them, one after another, falling into tedious and long diseases, they were enforced to returne into Europe. At this time there was appointed ouer Congo a third bishop of the Portugall nation, who through the contumacie of the Canons and clergie, found trouble enough. In the meane while *Don Diego* dying, there arose great tumults touching the succession, by meanes whereof, all the Portugals in a manner, that were in Saint Saluador (except priests) were slaine. In the end, *Henrie* brother to *Don Diego* obteined the

crowne, and after him (for he quicklie died in the warres of the Anzichi) *Don Aluaro* his son in law. This man reconciled vnto himselfe the Portugall nation, caused all the religious, and lay sort dispersed heere and there, throughout the kingdome, to be gathered togither, and wrote for his discharge to the king, and to the Bishop of Saint Thomas. The bishop hauing perused the letters, passed himselfe into Congo: and giuing some order for the discipline of the clergie, he returned to Saint Thomas, where hee ended his daies. It so fell out, that what for the absence, and what for the want of Bishoppes, the progression of religion was much hindred. For one *Don Francisco*, a man for bloud and wealth of no small authoritie, began freely to say, that it was a vaine thing to cleaue to one wife onely, and afterwardes in the end, he fell altogither from the faith, and was an occasion that the king grew woonderfully cold. They affirme, that this *Francisco* dying, and being buried in the church of Santa Cruz, the diuels vncouered a part of that churches roofe, and with terrible noise drew his dead carcase out of the tombe, and carried it quite away: a matter that made the king exceedingly amazed: but yet another accident that ensued withall, strooke him neerer to the hart: For the Giacchi leauing their owne habitations, entred like Locusts into the kingdome of Congo, and comming to battaile against *Don Aluaro* the king, put him to flight: who not being secure in the head citie, abandoned his kingdome, and togither with the Portugall priests, and his owne princes, retired himselfe vnto an island of the riuer Zaire, called The isle of horses. Thus seeing himselfe brought to such extremitie (for besides the losse of his kingdome, his people died of famine and miserie, and for maintenance of life sold themselues one to another, and to the Portugals also at a base price) for reparation of his state and religion, he had recourse to *Don Sebastian* king of Portugall, and obteined

* *Called by Philippo Pigafetto Bullamatare.*

*Concerning these Giacchi, otherwise called Agag, read the discourse of Mohenemugi before the beginning of Iohn Leo.*

of him sixe hundred soldiers, by whose valour he draue his enimies out of the kingdome, and within an yeere and an halfe, reestablished himselfe in his throne. In his time *Antonio di Glioua* a Spaniard, was made bishop of Saint Thomas, who after much molestation procured him by the captaine of that island, went at length into Congo, with two friers and fower priests, and ordered matters reasonablie well. In the meane while *Don Aluaro* died, and his sonne of the same name succeeded him, who failed not to sollicite, both *Don Sebastian* and *Don Henrie* kings of Portugall, and the king of Spaine also, that they would send him some competent number of preachers and ecclesiasticall persons for the augmentation of the Christian faith in his kingdome: and amidst these determinations he died, and a sonne of his called also *Don Aluaro* succeeded him.

During these tumults, certaine other Portugall Priests went into Congo, labouring to prune that vine which had beene long time giuen ouer, and forsaken. These men haue built them an house in the island of Loanda, where do remaine sixe or seauen of their companie, that are readie to goe sometimes hither and sometimes thither, as neede requireth. In the yeere of our Lord 1587. king Aluaro, (who bicause hee was not borne of lawfull matrimonie, was but little esteemed by his people) would needes haue one of these priests about him, by whose meanes and authoritie he came to reputation and credite. And God himselfe fauoured his proceedings: for meeting a sister of his by the fathers side, and one of her brothers, with a great armie in the fielde, he gaue him battaile, and bore himselfe therein with such valour, as he did not onely ouerthrow the forces of his enime but further slew the ring-leader and generall thereof, and in the place where he was slaine, he would needs build a church to the honour of Christianitie. And the more by his owne example to mooue others,

himselfe was the very first man that put hand to this worke: and likewise with edicts and fauourable proclamations, he furthered and doth still aduance the preaching of the Gospell, and the propagation of religion.

Who so is desirous to be more fully instructed concerning the Christianitie of this kingdome, let him read the third and eight bookes of *Osorius de Reb. gest. Eman.* & the second booke of *Philippo Pigafetta* his story of Congo, most properly and decently translated by the iudicious master ABRAHAM HARTWELL.

*Of the Christian religion in the kingdome of Angola.*

THose Portugal priests that remaine in the Iland Loanda, as aboue we declared, bend themselues more to the conuersion of Angola, then of Congo. The reason is (as I suppose) because the enterprise is new, and more neerely concerneth the Portugals, who there make war vnder the conduct of *Paulo Diaz*, to get possession of the mountaines of Cabambe which abound with rich mines of very fine siluer. It seemeth that god hath fauoured the amplification of his holy name in those parts with some myraculous victories. For first in the yeere 1582, a fewe Portugals in an excursion that they made, put to flight an innumerable companie of the Angolans. And by this victory, they brought in a manner the halfe of that kingdome into their handes: and many Princes and nobles of the land vpon this, were moued to request and make suit to be baptized. Among whom was *Songa* prince of Banza, the kinges Father in law, whose brother and children were baptized already. *Tondella* also, the second person of Angola was conuerted: many Idols were throwne to the ground, and insteede thereof they erected crosses, and built some churches. And within this little while all the Prouince of Corimba is in a manner conuerted. Also in the yeere 1584, an hundred and fiftie Portugals, together

with such succors as were conducted by *Paule* Prince of Angola, who was not long before conuerted; discomfited more then a million of Ethiopians. In an other place we declared the readie meanes and opportunities that the Princes of Ethiopia and of India haue, to assemble and bring togither such infinite armies. They say, that certaine Ethiopians being demaunded by a Portugal, how it came to passe that so great a multitude turned their backes to so few men: they answered, that the Portugals strength did it not, which with a blast they would haue confounded, but a woman of incomparable beawty, apparelled in shining light and brightnes, and an old man that kept her company with a flaming sword in his hand, who went aloft in the ayre before the Portugals, and ouerthrew the squadrons of the Angolans, putting them to flight and destruction. In the yeere 1588, were conuerted *Don Paulo* Prince of Mocumba, and with him a thousand persons more.

### *The Christian religion of Monomotapa.*

IN the dominions of the Monomotapa, the light of the faith being with incredible ease kindled, was also as suddenly extinguished by the deuises of the Mahumetans. For some Portugals going to the court of that monarche, and giuing himselfe, with some of his Princes and vassals, a taste of the gospel, were an occasion afterwards that *Gonsaluo de Sylua*, a man no lesse famous for the integrity of his life, then for his bloud and parentage, went ouer thither from Goa in the yeere 1570. This man arriuing with a prosperous voiage, in the kingdome of Inambane, conuerted and baptized the king, his wife, children, and sister, with his Barons and nobilitie, and the greatest part of his people. Through whose perswasion *Gonsaluo* left his companions, prosecuting his voiage towards the Monomotapa, onely with sixe Portugals. Thus hauing passed Mozambique, and the mouth of the riuer Mafuta,

and of Colimane, they came to Mengoaxano king of Quiloa, where they were courteously receiued & entertained. And though they had licence in this place to preach the gospell, yet would not *Gonsaluo* here stay, iudging that vpon the cõuersion of the Monomotapa, that of the neighbor kings would follow without delaie. Embarking themselues therefore vpon the riuer Cuama, they sailed along the coast of Africa eight daies, till they came to Sena, a very populous village: where *Gonsaluo* baptized about fiue hundred slaues, belonging to the Portugal merchants, and prepared for the receiuing of the gospel the king of Inamor, one of the Monomotapaes vassals. In the ende *Antonio Caiado* a Portugall gentleman came from the court, to guide *Gonsaluo* towards the same place. Whither being in short time come, he was presently visited on the emperours behalfe, and bountifullie presented with a great summe of gold and many oxen. But he returning back these presents, gaue the Monomotapa to vnderstand, that he should know of *Caiado*, what he desired. The emperour was astonished at this his magnanimity, & receiued him afterwards with the greatest honor, that could possibly be deuised. And causing him to sit vpon the same carpet, whereon also his owne mother sate, he presently demaunded how many women, how much ground, and how many oxen (thinges mightily esteemed of in those countries) he would haue. *Gonsaluo* answered, that he would haue no other thing but himselfe. Whereupon the emperour turning to *Caiado* (who was their interpreter) said; that surely it could not be otherwise, but that he, who made so little account of thinges so highly valued by others, was no ordinary man; and so with much courtesie he sent him back to his lodging.

Not long time after, the emperour let *Gonsaluo* to vnderstand, that he and his mother were resolued to become Christians, and that therefore he should come to baptize

them. But he to instruct them better in the faith, deferred it off for some daies. Finally fiue and twentie daies after his arriuall, with vnspeakable solemnity and preparation, he gaue the water of baptisme to the king, and to his mother. He was called *Sebastian*, and shee *Maria*. And presently after, about three hundred of the principall in this emperours court were baptized. *Gonsaluo* for his wonderfull abstinence, charity, wisedome, and for many other his singular vertues was so reuerenced and esteemed by those people, as if he had come downe from heauen among them. Now as matters proceeded thus prosperously, and with so desirable successe, behold, an horrible tempest arose which drowned the ship. There were in the court fower Mahumetans most deere vnto the king. These men finding out some occasion, suggested vnto him, that *Gonsaluo* was a Magician, who by witchcraftes and inchantments could turne kingdomes topsie turuie: and that he was come to prie into his estate, and to stir vp his people to rebellion, and so by this meanes to bring his kingdome vnder subiection to the Portugals. With these and such like suggestions they brought the king (who was but a young man) to determine the death of *Gonsaluo*. The effect whereof was, that after long praier, reposing himselfe a little; he was by eight of the kings seruants slaine, and his body throwne into the riuer Mensigine. Neere vnto the same place, were with like violence put to death fiftie newconuerted Christians. This rage and furie being ouer, the king was aduertised by the Principall of his kingdome, and then by the Portugals, of the excesse and outrage he had therein committed. He excused himselfe the best he could, causing those Mahumetans to be slaine, who had seduced him; and he sought out some others also who lay hid, to put them to death. Whereupon it seemed that by the death of father *Gonsaluo*, the conuersion of this great king, and of his empire, should haue bin furthered, and no

whit hindered, if the Portugals would rather haue preuailed by the word of God, then by force of armes. The which I say, bicause insteed of sending new preachers into those countries, to preserue that which was alreadie gotten, and to make new conuersions, they resolued to reuenge themselues by warre. There departed therefore out of Portugall a good fleete, with a great number of noble Portugals therein, conducted by *Francisco Barretto.* At the fame of this warre, mooued against him, the Monomotapa full of feare, sent to demaund peace of *Barretto.* But he aspiring to the infinite mines of gold in that kingdome, contemned all conditions offered him. The effect of this enterprise was, that this armie which was so terrible to a mightie Monarke, was in fewe daies consumed by the intemperature of the aire, which is there insupportable to the people of Europe.

# Of the fortresses and colonies maintained by the Spaniards and Portugals vpon the maine of Africa: by meanes whereof the Christian religion hath there some small *footing. VVhich albeit in other respects* they haue beene mentioned before, yet heere also in this one regard, it *seemeth not from our purpose briefly to remember them.*

TO the propagation of Christianity, those fortresses & colonies woonderfully helpe, which the Castilians, but much more the Portugals, haue planted on the coast of Africa. For they serue very fitly either to conuert infidels vpon diuers occasions, or by getting an habite of their languages and customes, to make a more easie way to their conuersion. For those who are not sufficient to preach, serue for interpreters to the preachers. And thus God hath oftentimes beene well serued, and with excellent fruit and effect, by the indeuour of some soldiers. On the coast of Africa vpon the Mediterran sea, the Spaniards haue Oran, Mersalchibir, Melilla, &c., and the Portugals Tanger, and Ceuta, and without the streights of Gibraltar, Arzilla, and Mazagan; and in Ethiopia, Saint George de la mina. They haue also a setled habitation in the citie of Saint Saluador, the Metropolitan of the kingdome of Congo, and in Cumbiba, a countrie of Angola. Beyond the cape de Buena esperança, they hold the fortresses, and colonies of Sena, Cefala, and Mozambiche.

Heere besides their secular clergie, is a conuent of Dominicans, who indeuour themselues to instruct the Portugals, and the Pagans also which there inhabite, and do trafficke thither.

*Of the Islands of the Atlanticke Ocean, where the Spaniards and Portugals haue planted religion.*

THe Christian name is also augmented, and doth still increase in the Atlantick Ocean, by meanes of the colonies conducted thither, partly by the Spaniards and partly by the Portugals. The Spaniards vndertooke the enterprize of the Canaries, in the yeere of our Lord 1405, vsing therein the assistance of *Iohn Betancort*, a French gentleman, who subdued Lançarota & Fuerteuentura. They were taken againe certaine yeeres after, and were first subdued by force of armes, & afterwards by the establishment of religion: so that at this present, all the inhabitants are Christians. Also the Portugals haue assaied to inhabite certaine other islands of that Ocean, & especially Madera, which was discouered in the yeere 1420. This at the first was all ouer a thicke and mightie wood: but now it is one of the best manured islands that is knowne. There is in the same, the citie of Funcial, being the seate of a bishop. Puerto santo, which is fortie miles distant from Madera, was found out in the yeere 1428. and this also began presently to be inhabited. The isles of Arguin, being sixe or seauen, and all but little ones, came to the knowledge of the Portugals in the yeere 1443. Heere the king hath a fortresse for the traffike of those countries. The islands of Cabo Verde were discouered in the yeere 1440. by *Antonio di Nolli* a Genoway, or (as others affirme) in the yeere 1455. by *Aloisius Cadamosto*. These be nine in number: the principall of them is Sant Iago, being seuentie miles in length: where the Portugals haue a towne situate vpon a most pleasant riuer, called Ribera

grande, which consisteth at the least of fiue hundred families. The isle of Saint Thomas being somewhat greater then Madera, was the last island discouered by the Portugals, before they doubled the cape De buena Esperança. They haue heere a colonie called Pouasaon, with a bishop, who is also the bishop of Congo, and it conteineth seuen hundred families. Vnder the gouernment of Saint Thomas are the neighbour islands of Fernando Pó, and that del Principe, which as it were boroughs belonging to the same. The island Loanda, though it be vnder the king of Congo, yet is a great part thereof inhabited by the Portugals. For here is the famous port of *Mazagan, whither the ships of Portugall and Brasile do resort. Heere the fleetes are harboured, and the soldiers refreshed, and heere they haue their hospitall. As also heere the Portugall priests (who indeuour the conuersion of the naturall inhabitants) haue a place of residence.

*. *Not Mazagan vpon the coast of Barbarie.*

## *Of the Negros.*

MOst of the Islands inhabited by the Portugals, especially those of Saint Thomas and Madera besides the Portugals themselues, containe a great multitude of Negro-slaues, brought thither out of Congo and Angola, who till the earth, water the sugar-canes, and serue both in the cities, and in the countrie. These are for the most part gentiles, but they are daily conuerted rather through continual conuersation, then any other helpe that they haue; and it is a matter likelie, that in processe of some few yeeres, they will all become Christians. There is no greater hinderance to their conuersion, then the auarice of their masters, who to hold them in the more subiection, are not willing that they should become Christians.

*Of those poore distressed European Christians in Africa, who are holden as slaues vnto the Turkes and Mores.*

BVt the best and most sincere christianity in all Africa, is that of those poore christians, who are fettered by the feet with chaines, being slaues to the Arabians & Turkes. For besides them that haue remained there euer since the daies of Barbarossa and other Turkish captaines (which were brought into the mediterran seas by the French) as also since the great losse at Gerbi, and the battell of Alcazar wherein *Don Sebastian* the king of Portugal was ouerthrowne: there passeth not a yeere, but the rouers and pirates of those parts, without graunting any league or respite to the Northren shore of the Mediterran sea, take great numbers of Christians from off the coasts of Spaine, Sardinia, Corsica, Sicilia, yea euen from the very mouth of Tyber. It is generallie thought, that the number of slaues, which are in Alger amount to eighteene thousand. In Tunis, Bona, and Biserta there are great multitudes: but many more in Fez, and Maroco; as likewise in Mequenez and Tarodant, and in diuers other cities of those kingdomes. The estate surely of these distressed people is most woorthie of compassion, not so much for the miserie wherein they lead their liues, as for the danger whereto their soules are subiect. They passe the day in continuall trauaile, and the greatest part of the night without repose or quiet, vnder insupportable burdens, and cruell stripes. Beasts among vs labour not more, nor are more slauishly intreated. Yea, albeit vnder those brutish Barbarians, they endure all that toile, which beasts do heere with vs: yet are they neither so well fed, nor so carefully looked vnto, as our beasts commonly are. They weare out the whole day in the sunne, raine, and winde, in continuall labour, sometimes carrying burdens, sometimes digging or ploughing the fields, and otherwise in turning of

hand-milles, feeding of beasts, or in performance of other labours: being bound to bring in so much euery day to their masters, and they themselues to liue of the rest, which many times is nothing at all, or (if it were possible) lesse then nothing. They haue alwaies the chaine at their neckes and feete, being naked winter and sommer, and therefore are sometimes scorched with heate, and otherwhiles frozen with cold. They must not faile in any iotte of their duties, and yet though they do not, it can not be expressed with what cruelties they are tormented. They vse for the chastizing & torture of their bodies, chaines of iron, dried sinewes of oxen, but-hoops steeped in water, boiling oile, melted tallow, & scalding hot lard. The houses of those Barbarians resound againe, with the blowes that are giuen these miserable men, on the feete and bellie: and the prisons are filled with hideous lamentations and yellings. Their companions haire at this noise standes an end, and their very blood freezeth within them, by considering how neere themselues are to the like outrages. They passe the nights in prisons, or in some caues of the earth, being hampered and yoaked together like brute beasts. Heere the vapor and dampe choaketh them, and the vncleannes and filth of their lodging consumeth them (as rust doth iron) euen aliue. But though the labours of their bodies be so grieuous, yet those of their mindes are much more intolerable, for (besides that they want such as might feed them with the word of God, & with the sacramentes, and might teach them how to liue and die well, so as they remaine like plants without moisture) it can not be expressed, with what forcible temptations their faith is continuallie assailed. For not onelie that desire to come foorth of these vnspeakeable miseries, doth tempt them; but the commodities and delights also wherein they see others to liue, that haue damnablie renounced their Christianity. The persecutors of the primitiue church, to

induce the Martyrs to denie Christ and to sacrifice to their idols, tried them first with torments, and then with ease and delights, which they propounded vnto them, if they would become as themselues. For to those, who in the middest of winter were throwne into frozen lakes, there were cõtrariwise appointed soft and delicate beds, with a fier kindled hard by, and a thousand other restoratiues and comforts; to the end they might be doublie tempted, both by the rigor of the cold which benummed them, and by the sweetnes of thinges comfortable and nourishing, which allured them. The Christian slaues are at this day no lesse tormented; for on the one side, they are afflicted with beggerie, nakednes, hunger, famine, blowes, reproches, and tortures, without any hope in a manner euer to come out thereof: and on the other side they see them that haue reneged our holy faith for Mahumets superstition, to liue in all worldly prosperitie and delight, to abound with wealth, to flourish in honour, to gouerne cities, to conduct armies, and to enioy most ample libertie. But amidst all these so great miseries, they haue a double comfort. The one is of priests, who togither with themselues were taken captiue. These men sometimes administring the sacraments, & other whiles deliuering the word of God in the best manner that they can, are some helpe and assistance to others, being for this greatly reuerenced and respected amongst them. The other is of the religious in generall, who contend and labour for their freedome. Wherein Spaine deserueth most high commendation. For there be two most honorable orders, whose exercise it is, to mooue and sollicite for the freedome of captiues. The one is called La orden de la merced, and it flourisheth most in Aragon; and the other (which is farre greater) is named Del Resgate or of raunsome or redemption, the which although it largely extendeth ouer all France, yet at this day aboue all other places, it is most rife in Castilia,

From whence some of them haue gone into Sicilie, to the kingdome of Naples, and to Rome: and haue there begun to lay foundations of their conuents. These two religious orders gather euery yeere mightie summes of money, wherewith they make speedie redemption of the forsaid captiues. They send their Agents to Fez, and to Alger, who managing this affaire, with no lesse diligence, then loialtie, redeeme first all the religious, and priests, and after them those of the yoonger sort, first the king of Spaines subiects, and then others. They alwaies leaue one religious man in Alger, and another in Fez, who informe themselues of the state & qualitie of the slaues, with their necessitie, to make the better way for their libertie the yeere following. The king of Spaine (whom it most concerneth) furthereth this so charitable a worke, with a bountifull and liberall hand. For ordinarily he giueth as much more, as the foresaid orders haue gathered and collected by way of almes. For this is so good an enterprise, that by the ancient canons no other is so much fauoured and allowed of. Yea S. *Ambrose* and other holy men haue pawned, for the deliuerie of Christian captiues, the chalices and siluer vessels of their churches. And Saint *Paulinus* for the same end and purpose, solde his owne selfe. For all other actions of charitie are some spirituall, and others corporall, but this in a very eminent degree is both spirituall and corporall togither. For among corporall miseries the seruitude of infidels is most grieuous, & among spirituall calamities the danger of apostasie is of all others the greatest: but those slaues so redeemed, are set free both from the one and from the other. Whereupon there are very few borne in Spain, who dying, leaue not some almes behinde them, for the ransoming of slaues. The fathers of redemption haue gone also many times to Constantinople: where in the yeere 1583. by the order of Pope *Gregorie* the thirteenth, they

redeemed fiue hundred persons. The brotherhood also of the Confalone in Rome, labour verie diligently in this point, who in *Sixtus Quintus* time, redeemed a great number of captiues. Of whom many also, vrged partly by the hardnes of seruitude, & partly by the sweetenes of libertie, free themselues, either by that which they gaine ouer & aboue their masters due, or by their good demeanour, or else by flight. And they flie awaie, sometimes by repairing speedily to such fortresses as the king of Spaine hath in Africke and in Barbarie: and otherwhiles they seize on some shipping, or on the selfe same galleis wherein they are chained. Many also retire themselues to the Princes of Brisch, &c. who willingly receiue and arme them, vsing their assistance in the warre which they continually make with the Turkes of Alger.

*FINIS.*

# GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX

TO

# THE HISTORY OF LEO AFRICANUS.

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DR. BROWN left no MS. maps to illustrate his edition of LEO AFRICANUS, and as a work of this description would hardly have proved acceptable without maps, the Council of the Hakluyt Society decided that a suitable set should be specially prepared.

The compiler intended, at first, to accept all identifications put forward in Dr. Brown's voluminous notes, and to adhere strictly to the spelling of place and tribal names, as it appears in Pory's translation. He found, however, that Dr. Brown had omitted, in several instances, to indicate the geographical position of the places mentioned by his author, or had accepted the more than doubtful identifications of preceding commentators. Under these circumstances he preferred to proceed on independent lines.

First as to the spelling. No attempt has been made to transcribe the spelling of the Italian version, and the names familiar to students of historical geography have been retained. The names on the maps are spelt, as a rule, according to the Italian version, but other modes of spelling employed by translators, or varieties to be found in the same edition of the "History", have been added within brackets; as also, in numerous instances, a correct version of the name, agreeably to the rules recommended by the Royal Geographical Society. This last is printed in *italics*. Thus, in the entry :—

**Ain Elcalla** (Hain Elchallu, *Ain el Kala*), "Ain Elcalla" will be found in our map, "Hain Elchallu" in Temporal's version, whilst "*Ain el Kala*" is a correct version of the name.

Names from Marmol's *Africa* have been freely introduced.

In most instances in which the compiler of the maps differs from Dr. Brown's identifications of place-names the authorities upon which he depends are concisely indicated, (as instances, see Goran, Beni Gumi, Bito, Casair, Guangara, etc.).

Out of about 620 place and tribal names mentioned by Leo, as many as 420 could be confidently placed upon the map, as there exist at the present-day and in the localities indicated by our author, places or sites still bearing the ancient name, or, in a few instances, well-

authenticated ruins. In all these cases the modern name is given n *italics*, but without brackets, thus :—

**Casena** (Chesena) *Katsena.*

Numerous other places could be located approximately from the descriptions given by Leo or by other authors. In many instances, however, this information is too vague to be of service, or irreconcilable with what we know of the geography of Northern Africa. This applies more especially to the towns in Hea, which were in ruins even in the days of Leo, and to the various ranges of the Atlas. We have, nevertheless, recorded names of this kind upon the maps, usually with a note of interrogation affixed to them, as such a record may prove of service to future inquirers.

The routes followed by Leo Africanus are shown in *red*, as far as can be made out from the very fragmentary references given in his work. Whether Leo really performed those extensive journeys in the Sudan for which he claims credit (pp. 124, 128) may fairly be doubted. The information he furnishes is very scanty, and in several instances quite contrary to fact (see below, under "Niger").

The principal names mentioned in Pory's Introduction and in the Appendices have been included in the Index, and their geographical position has been indicated, but they have only in exceptional cases been inserted upon the maps.

The column headed "Maps" is to be read as follows :—

The Roman numerals, I-VII, indicate the number of the map on which the name is to be found; the Arabic numerals give the latitude and longitude of the place in degrees; thus :—IV, 32, 3 W., is to be read: Map IV, latitude 32° north, longitude 3° west of Greenwich.

The black figures indicate pages where place-names are dealt with more fully than elsewhere.

E. G. R.


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| **Garbia**, *El Gharbiye*, the West (of Morocco), 990 | — |
| **Garel Gaze**, quarry near Tripoli, *Gargaresh*, 772, 803 | IV, 32, 13 E. |
| **Garel Mele**, *Ghar el Melah* or *Porta Farina*, 933 | IV, 37, 10 E. |
| **Garet**, province, *El Gharet*, 126, 145, 148, 532, 643, 931 | VII, 34, 3 W. |
| **Garet**, desert of, 538. | VII, 34, 2 N. |
| **Garfa**, *Uled Garfa*, a tribe of Rie Arabs, scattered, 142, 145, 148, 212 | — |
| **Garian** (Garion), mtn.; *Gharian*, 127, 743, 771 | IV, 32, 13 E. |
| **Garir**, *see* Beni Garir. | — |
| **Garog**, *see* Garagi | — |
| **Garsa**, 145, misprint for Garfa | — |
| **Garseluin**, *see* Gherseluin | — |
| **Garsif** (Garsis), 541, 647 | — |
| **Garsis**, *see* Garsif | — |
| **Gartguessen**, (Gurtguessen, Gurtuessen), *Santa Cruz* of the early Portuguese, *Agadir*, 253, 345, 777, 934, 987 | V, 30, 9 W. |
| **Gastrir**, 781 (Pory omits the name) | IV, 32, 4 W. |
| **Gauata** (Javata), *Ghiata* district (compare Matgara) | VII, 34, 3 W. |
| **Gauri**, *see* Ghauri | — |
| **Geba** (Gebha), *Jebba*, 520, 638 | VII, 35, 4 W. |
| **Gebara**, *see* Beni Gebara | — |
| **Gebel el hadi**, *Jebel Hadid*, 247, 340 | V, 31, 9 W. |
| **Gebir**, *see* Beni Gebir | — |
| **Gedmeua** (Ghedmina), mtn., W. of Imizmizi; perhaps *Jebel Tisgin*; 258, 279, 349, 364 | V, 31, 8 W. |
| **Gegel**, *Jijeli* 701, 746, 933 | IV, 36, 5 E. |
| **Gehoan**, *see* Geoan | — |
| **Geme Tailon**, *Jami Ibn Tulun*, *Cairo*, 873 | III, 30, 31 E. |
| **Gemi El Asare** (Hashare), *Jami el Azhar* at Cairo, 870, 913 | III, 30, 31 E. |
| **Gemia Elcmen** (Gemiha Elchmen), *Jami el Hammam?* 415, 587 | IV, 33, 5 W. |
| **Gemiha Elchmen**, *see* Gemia Elcmen | — |
| **Gemit Elhechim**, *Jami Hakim*, *Cairo*, 871, 913 | III, 30, 31 E. |
| **Genni** (Ghinea, Ghenea), *Jenni*, 124, 128, 822, 840 | I, 14, 4 W. |
| **Geoan** (Gehoan), *Uled Johan*, a servile tribe of Deniubaidulla Arabs, among the Garagi and Hedeg, 142, 150, 212 | — |
| **Georgia**, *see* St. George | — |
| **Gerbo** (Gerbe) island, *Jerba*, 127, 197, 734, 762 | IV, 33, 11 E. |
| **Gerseluine**, *see* Gherseluin | — |
| **Gesira**, *see* Gezira | — |
| **Geuisa**, *Iviza*, *Baleares*, 676 | — 39, 1 E. |
| **Geza**, *Jize*, 895, 922 | III, 30, 31 E. |
| **Gezair**, *see* Alger | — |
| **Gezira** (Gesira), 502, 622 | VII, 35, 6 W. |

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| **Gezirat Eldeeb**, *Geziret eddeheb*, the 'golden island' above Fuoa ; *q. v.*, 868 | II, 31, 30 E. |
| **Gharag**, *see* Garagi | — |
| **Ghauri** (Gauri), *Jami el Ghuri, Cairo*, 871, 913 | III, 30, 31 E. |
| **Ghedmina**, *see* Gedmeua | — |
| **Ghenea**, *see* Genni | — |
| **Gherseulin** (Gerseluin, Garseluin), *Gers*, 148, 215, 560, 657, 780, 931, 935 | IV, 32, 4 W. |
| **Ghinea**, *see* Genni | — |
| **Ghir**, river, *Wad Ghir*, 935, 788 | IV, 29, 2 W. |
| **Ghir**, desert of, said to extend to Guber, 798 ('Ghir' means 'river', and the desert may be near the Niger, or 'Nghir') | — |
| **Ghomera**, *see* Gumera | — |
| **Giacchi**, *see* Agag | — |
| **Gibraltar** (Zibeltera), 167, 499, 509 | I, 36, 5 W. |
| **Giumha**, *see* El Giuma | — |
| **Giunaibe**, *see* Umen Giunaibe | — |
| **Gogdem**, desert, apparently the same region as Ighidi, *q. v.*, 798, 815 | I, 27, 2 W. |
| **Gogidem** (Gugideme, Guigidime of Marmol), mtn., 310, 386, 928 | V, 31, 6 W. |
| **Goiame**, *Gojam*, 30 | I, 10, 38 E. |
| **Good Hope**, Cape of, 19 | —34 S., 18 E. |
| **Goran** (Goranites, Gorhan), *Goran*, 28, 109, 128, 173, 199, 221, 836, 852 | — |
| *Goran* is the name by which the *Daza* or Southern *Tubu* (*Teda*) are known to the Arabs. The Goran extend to the northern shore of Lake Tsade, the further shores of which are, or were, inhabited by the *So* (*see* Seu) (Nachtigal, *Sahara* and *Sudan*, I, 421) | I, 15, 13 E. |
| **Gorhan**, *see* Goran | — |
| **Goz**, 232, 329 | IV, 31, 9 W. |
| **Great River** (Wad el Kebir), *Wad Sahel*, 932 | IV, 36, 4 E. |
| **Green Mountain** (Monte Verde), *Jebel el Akhdar*, 295, 681 | IV, 36, 4 E. |
| **Guachde** (Guacde), *Wakda*, 788, 810 | IV, 31, 2 W. |
| **Guadalabid**, *see* Quadelabid | — |
| **Guaden**, *Wadan*, 116, 127, 147, 215, 777 | I, 21, 11 W. |
| **Guadilbarbar**, *Wad Barbara*, known in its lower course as *Wad el Kebir*, 933 | IV, 36, 7 E. |
| **Guagida**, *Ujda*, 663, 693 | IV, 34, 1 W. |
| **Gualata**, *Walata*, 124, 128, 134, 147, 215, 255, 798, 815, 820, 821 | I, 18, 5 W. |
| **Gualhasa**, 687, 698 | IV, 35, 1 W. |
| **Gualid**, *see* Beni Gualid | — |
| **Gualili**, *Walili*, 489, 607-10 | VII, 34, 5 W. |
| **Guamud**, *see* Beni Guamud | — |
| **Guanferis**, 932, misprint for Guanseris | — |

| | MAPS. |
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| **Guangara** (Guangra), *Wangara ;* the Wangara are the Eastern Mandingo, great traders, who go East as far as Bornu. A district *Wangara* lies on the road from the Gold Coast to the Niger (Wolf, *Mitt. aus Deutsch. Schutzgeb.*, IV, 10), 128, 134, **831**, 850 | I, 9, 1 E. |
| **Guanseris**, mtn., *Wanseris*, **689**, 698, 932 | IV, 35, 1 E. |
| **Guanziga** (Ganziga, Guenziga; Guanezeris or Zuenzigas of Marmol), 127, 151, 198 | I, 23, 0 |
| **Guarag**, *see* Garagi | — |
| **Guardan**, mtn., 538, 646 | VII, 35, 3 W. |
| **Guarga**, river, *Wargha*, 499, 501, 619, 930 | VII, 34, 5 W. |
| **Guargala** (Guarghela), *Wurgla*, 127, 143, 197, **791**, 799, 811 | I, 32, 5 E. |
| **Guarghela**, *see* Guargala | — |
| **Guarid**, *see* Beni Guarid | — |
| **Guariti**, *see* Beni Guariten | — |
| **Guatazi**, *see* Baniguatazi | — |
| **Guazeuale**, *see* Beni Guazeuale | — |
| **Guber**, *Gober*, 128, **134**, 209, 798, **828**, 846 | I, 13, 6 E. |
| **Gueblen**, mtn., 549, 651 | IV, 33, 3 W. |
| **Guechet**, 819 ; *see* Eloachet | — |
| **Guedarfeth**, *see* Beni Guedarfeth | — |
| **Guenziga**, *see* Guanziga | — |
| **Guer**, Cabo de, *Ras Ghir*, 987, 989, 991 | V. |
| **Guerened**, *see* Beni Guerened | — |
| **Gueriaghel**, *see* Beni Gueriaghel | — |
| **Guertaggen**, *see* Beni Guertaggen | — |
| **Guerteneage**, *see* Beni Guertaggen | — |
| **Gueslet**, mtn., *Jebel Uselet*, 732, 760 | IV, 35, 9 E. |
| **Gugideme**, *see* Gogideme | — |
| **Guir** river at Mansora, 398. '*Ghir*' merely means 'river' | IV, 33, 7 W. |
| **Gumera** (Ghomera), the Berber tribes of the Riff, 130, 131, 134, 205-6 | VI, 34, 4 W. |
| **Gumera**, mountains of the, 930 | *ib.* |
| **Gumi**, *see* Beni Gumi | — |
| **Guraigura** (Guregra, Guruigara), mount, plain, and river, on W. border of Caus, 494, 539, 559, 613 | IV, 33, 5 W. |
| **Guregra**, *see* Guraigura | — |
| **Gurtguessen**, *see* Gartguessen | — |
| **Guruigura**, *see* Guraigura | — |
| **Guzzula** (Guzula), *Jezula*, 125, 131, 256, 260, **281**, 366, 776 | V, 30, 7 W. |
| **Habat** (Elabat, Abat, Elhabet), 126, **449**, 619, 930, 931 | VII, 35, 5 W. |
| **Habduload**, *see* Beni Abdulguad | — |
| **Habid**, *see* Quadelabid | — |
| **Habru** (Abru), *Uled Habra*, a tribe of Beniamir Arabs, 142, 144, 212 | IV, 35, 0 W. |
| **Hacari**, 130 ; misprint for Hasari, *see* Hasara | — |

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| **Haddagie** (Addagia), 540, 647 | VII, 34, 3 W. |
| **Hadecchis** (Adecchis), 233, 331 | V, 31, 8 W. |
| **Hain Elchalla,** *see* Ain Elcalla | — |
| **Hain Sammit,** 713, *see* Ain Sammit | — |
| **Hair,** *see* Air | — |
| **Halcamo,** *see* Alcama | — |
| **Ham Lisnam,** *see* Am Lisnam | — |
| **Hammamet,** *Hammamet*, 726, 756 | IV, 36, 10 E. |
| **Hamr,** Temple of, Cairo, *see* Amr | — |
| **Hamran,** *see* Amr | — |
| **Hamrozo** (Amrozo, Hamron of Marmol), 774, 803 | IV, 32, 13 E. |
| **Hanchisa,** *see* Anchisa | — |
| **Hangad,** *see* Angad | — |
| **Hannimei,** *see* Annimei | — |
| **Hantata** (Hentata, Anteta, Hantera), a tribe of Musmuda Berbers in Hantata mountains, 207, 208, 280, 364, 927 | V, 31, 7 W. |
| **Haoara** (Aoara), *Hawara*, a Berber people, between the Atlantic and Fezzan; those in Temesna being known, according to Marmol, as *Shawia;* 130, 131, 132, 154, 205, 396, 710, 780 | I, 24, 13 E.; IV, 33, 7 W.; 36, 3 E., and 29, 15 E. |
| **Harar,** *see* Arar | — |
| **Haresgol,** *see* Aresgol | — |
| **Hargij** (Argda, Hergha), a tribe of Musmuda, expelled from Morocco by the Luntuna, 132, 207 | — |
| **Haros,** *see* Beni Aros | — |
| **Hasara** (Asara, Hafara, a misprint), 295 | IV, 32, 8 W. |
| **Hascora** (Ascora) *Haskura*, 125, 297, 383, 928 | IV, 32, 7 W. |
| **Hassan** (Assan), *Uled Hassen*, a division of the Machil Arabs, including the Deuihessen, Deuimansor and Deuiubaidulla, 142, 212 | — |
| **Haugustun** (Augustian), 527, 641 | VII, 34, 4 W. |
| **Hea** (Ea) *Haha*, 125, 131, 145, 214, 225-48 | V, 31, 9 W. |
| **Hechim,** *see* Gemit Elhechim | — |
| **Hedeg** (Edegi), *Uled Hadaji*, a tribe of Deuiubaidulla Arabs, 142, 149 | VII, 34, 2 W. |
| **Helchemma,** *see* Elchemma | — |
| **Helel,** *Sidi Beni Hellil* of Rohlfs, 782 | IV, 31, 4 W. |
| **Heli,** *see* Beni Heli | — |
| **Helin** (Elin), plain, 145 | V, 31, 9 W. |
| **Hemir,** *see* Emir | — |
| **Hemrun,** *see* Emrun | — |
| **Henadussasar,** *Amud es Sawari*, popularly known as Pompey's pillar, 864, 909 | II, 31, 29 E. |
| **Hentata,** *see* Hantata | — |
| **Hentera,** *see* Hantata | — |
| **Heraclea,** *Hergla*, 726, 756 | IV, 36, 10 E. |
| **Hergha,** *see* Hargij | — |

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| **Hesen**, College of Sultan, *Gama Sultan Hassan*, Cairo, 873, 914 | III, 30, 31 E. |
| **Hilel** (Ilal), *Beni Helal*, an Arab people, including the Beni Amir, Rie, Sufien and Chusain, 142, 144, 150, 212, 213 | I, 34, 3 E. |
| **Holotes**, *see* Elcalut | — |
| **Homar** (Omar), *Hamar*, 504, 624 | VII, 35, 6 W. |
| **Horam**, *see* Oran | — |
| **Howar**, 504; misprint for Homar | — |
| **Hubbed** (Ubbed) Castle, xx, 486, 607 (*see* also Ubbed) | VII, 34, 4 W. |
| **Hucben**, *see* Ucba | — |
| **Humeledegi**, *see* Umeldegi | — |
| **Hunein** (Unain), *Honein*, 665, 687, 693 | IV, 35, 1 W. |
| **Huroa** (Uroa), *Uled Hurwa*, a tribe of Beniamir Arabs, 142, 144, 212 | IV, 35, 0 E. |
| **Husein** (Usein), *Uled Husein*, a tribe of Deuimansor Arabs, 142, 148, 212 | IV, 32, 4 W. |
| **Husein**, *see* El Husein | — |
| **Hutmen**, *see* Utmen | — |
| **Iadog** (Jadog), *Wad Sebus*, 953 | IV, 36, 7 E. |
| **Iasliten** (Beni Isliten), 796, 814 | IV, 33, 10 E. |
| **Iazbachia**, Cairo, *Esbekiye*, 873, 914 | III, 30, 31 E. |
| **Iazga**, *see* Beni Iazga | — |
| **Icmim**, *Ekhmim*, 859, 900, 924 | I, 26, 31 E. |
| **Icuiza** (Jeviza), *Ivizza*, one of the *Baleares*, 686 | — 39, 1 E. |
| **Idevacal**, Western Atlas, 244, 339 | V, 30, 9 W. |
| **Iedir**, *see* Beni Iedir | — |
| **Iegel**, 933; misprint for Gegel | — |
| **Ieginesen**, *see* Beni Ieginesen | — |
| **Ielles** (Jelles), the Velles de Gumera of the Spaniards, 519, 637 | VII, 35, 4 W. |
| **Ierso**, *see* Beni Ierso | — |
| **Iesseten**, *see* Beni Iezneten | — |
| **Iezneten**, *see* Beni Iezneten | — |
| **Ifran** (Ifren), *Ofran*, 127, 777, 805 | IV, 29, 9 W. |
| **Ighidi**, desert, *Igidi*, 147, 799 | I, 27, 2 W. |
| **Ighilinghighil** (Igilingigil), 242, 334 | V, 31, 8 W. |
| **Ilal**, *see* Hilel | — |
| **Ilalem**, mtn., *Ilalem*, 256, 349 | V, 30, 9 W. |
| **Ilda**, mtn., 281, 367 | V, 30, 7 W. |
| **Ileusugaghen** (Eusugaghen of Marmol), 234-6, 332 | V, 31, 8 W. |
| **Imbuth**, 904; misprint for Jambu | — |
| **Imegiagen**, south of Elgiumua, cannot be fairly identified with *Imagheren*, which is east of Imizmizi, 257, 349 | V, 30, 8 W. |
| **Imizmizi**, *Amsmiz*, 260, 350 | V, 31, 7 W. |
| **Inauen** (Inaven), *Wad Innauen*, 406 | VII, 34, 4 W. |
| **Izli**, on river *Izli*, 662, 693 | IV, 34, 9 W. |

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| **Jadog,** *see Iadog* | — |
| **Jambu,** *Yambu el Bahr,* 903, 904 | I, 24, 37 E. |
| **Jerusalem,** 889 | IV, 31, 35 E. |
| **Jedir,** *see* Beni Iedir | — |
| **Jelles,** *see* Ielles | — |
| **Joseph,** *see* Beni Joseph | — |
| **Joseph's Sepulchre,** 858 (*see* Pharao, city of) | — |
| **Kairwân,** *see* Cairaoan | — |
| **Kasba,** *see* Casba | — |
| **Larache,** *see* Larais | — |
| **Larais** (Arais), *El Araish,* 495, 614, 931 | VII, 35, 6 W. |
| **Lebic,** river, the united Tesaut rivers, 928 | IV, 32, 6 W. |
| **Lemta,** *Auelimmiden,* 127, 151, 799, 816 | I, 25, 8 E. |
| **Lepede,** *Lebda,* 737, 765 | IV, 32, 14 E. |
| **Leuta,** 127; misprint for Lemta | — |
| **Levata,** 800 | I, 30, 20 E. |
| **Libya,** 13, 22, 124, 127 | I, —, — |
| **Loanda,** 75, 93, 998 | — 9 S., 15 E. |
| **Loango,** 76 | — 4 S., 12 E. |
| **Lucai,** mtn., 528, 641 | VII, 34, 4 W. |
| **Luccus,** river, *Wad el Kus,* 495, 931 | VII, 35, 6 W. |
| **Luntuna,** a division of the Sanagia, in Duccala, etc., 132, 206, 262, 395, 418, 479, 560 | I, 26, 10 W. |
| **Macarmeda,** 486, 606 | VII, 34, 4 W. |
| **Machil,** *Makil,* an Arab people, 142, 145, 150 | — |
| **Machres,** *Mahares,* 734, 762 | IV, 34, 10 E. |
| **Madagascar,** 20, 90 | — 20 S., 45 E. |
| **Madeira,** 107 | I, 33, 17 W. |
| **Mader Auvan** (Mader Avuam), 403, 572 | IV, 33, 6 W. |
| **Madia,** *see* Mahdia | — |
| **Magadazo,** *Makhdesho,* 53 | — 2, 45, E. |
| **Maghilla,** *Mghilla,* 421, 612 | VII, 34, 5 W. |
| **Magran,** mtn., *i.e.,* mtn. inhabited by Magraoa to east of Seggheme and at head-waters of Ommirabi, 322, 391 | IV, 32, 5 W. |
| **Magraoa** (Magraua), *Maghrawa,* a division of the Zeneta Berbers, 132, 206, 659 | IV, 35, 0 E.; VI, 32, 4 W. |
| **Magraua,** *see* Magraoa | — |
| **Magrida,** *see* Megerada | — |
| **Magroa,** *see* Magraoa | — |
| **Mahdia** (Madia), 554 (*see also* El Mahdia) | VI, 33, 4 W. |
| **Mahmora,** *see* Mamora | — |
| **Mamora** (Mahmora), *Maamura* or *Mchdia,* 409, 581, 930 | VII, 34, 6 W. |
| **Mamun** (Memun), 783, 785 | IV, 30, 4 W. |
| **Manebbi,** *see* Menebbe | — |

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| **Manf,** *see* Memphis | — |
| **Manfichmin,** 859; misprint for Manf, Iemin | — |
| **Manf Lot,** *Manfalut,* 899, 923 | I, 27, 30 E. |
| **Mansor,** *see* Beni Mansor | — |
| **Mansora,** *El Mansuria,* 398, 563 | IV, 33, 7 W. |
| **Marrakesh,** *see* Marocco city | — |
| **Margara,** *see* Matgara of Caus. | — |
| **Marin,** *see* Beni Marin | — |
| **Marmarica,** 22 | I, 30, 25 E. |
| **Marocco,** region, 125, 131, 132, 134, 140, 157, 206, 256, 987 | V, 31, 7 W. |
| **Marocco,** city, *Marrakesh,* 262-272, 351-359 | V, 31, 7 W. |
| **Marsa,** *Marsa* near Tunis, 726, 755 | IV, 36, 10 E. |
| **Marsa el Borgi,** *Marsa el Borj,* the E. port of Alexandria, 862 | II, 31, 29 E. |
| **Marsa Elcabir** (Mersalcabir), *Marsa el Kebir,* 660, 677, 695, 997 | IV, 35, 0 W. |
| **Marsa Essil,** *Marsa es Silsele,* the west port of Alexandria, 862 | II, 31, 29 E. |
| **Masila,** *see* Mesila | — |
| **Mastar,** a division of the Machil Arabs, 142, 145 | IV, 30, 6 W. |
| **Matama,** 70 | — 10 S., 18 E. |
| **Matar,** *Mater,* 714 | IV, 37, 9 E. |
| **Matgara,** mtn., in Telensin, 687, 698 | IV, 34, 1 W. |
| **Matgara,** mtn., in Caus, S.W. of Teza, *Jebel Ghiata* (but see Gauata), 546, 651 | VII, 37, 3 W. |
| **Matgara** (Metgara), *Mdaghra,* 148, 215, 782, 808, 935 | IV, 31, 4 W. |
| **Mauritania,** 21 | — |
| **Mazagan,** *Mazagan,* 379 | IV, 33, 8 W. |
| **Mazalig,** 787, 810 | IV, 31, 2 W. |
| **Mazandran,** province on Caspian, 889 | — 36, 52 E. |
| **Mazua,** *Massaua,* 27, 109 | I, 15, 39 E. |
| **Mazuna,** 681, 697 | IV, 36, 0 E. |
| **Mecca,** 896, 903 | I, 21, 40 E. |
| **Mechella,** *Mehallet el Kebir,* 869, 912 | II, 30, 31 E. |
| **Mechellat Cais,** *Mehallet Kess,* 870, 913 | II, 30, 30 E. |
| **Mecnasa,** a tribe of Zeneta, the founders of Mecnase, 132, 206 | — |
| **Mecnase** (Mecnes, Mequinez), *Meknasa,* 144, 412, 584-7 | VII, 34, 5 W. |
| **Mecnes,** *see* Mecnase | — |
| **Medina** (Medina Talnabi, Elmadina), *Medinet en Nebi,* in Arabia, 417, 889, 903 | — 24, 34 E. |
| **Medina,** *see* Elmadin and Almedin | — |
| **Medra,** *Mandara,* 128, 199 | I, 11, 14 E. |
| **Medua,** *El Medea,* 685, 698 | IV, 36, 2 E. |
| **Mefab,** 127; misprint for Mesab | — |
| **Megerada** (Magrida), river, *Mejerda,* 22, 714, 933 | IV, 36, 9 E. |
| **Megesa,** mtn. and tribe, 547, 651 | VII, 34, 4 W. |
| **Meggeo,** 535, 645 | VII, 35, 3 W. |

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| **Meher,** *see* Beni Megher | — |
| **Mejes** (Meies), mtn., the Eastern extremity of the Atlas, may safely be identified with *Ras el Melha* and the *Akabat el Kebir*, 123 | I, 31, 25 E. |
| **Mela,** *Milah*, 708, 749 | IV, 36, 6 E. |
| **Meleghete,** is Amomum Meleguetta *Rosc*, or A. granum paradisi, which grows on the "Grain Coast" of Guinea, 87 | I, 6, 10 W. |
| **Melela** (Mellela, Melelain) *Melilla*, 533, 643, 644 | VII, 35, 2 W. |
| **Meliana,** *Miliana*, 144, 211, 680, 696 | IV, 36, 2 E. |
| **Melinde,** 31, 55 | — 35, 40 E. |
| **Mellela,** *see* Melela | — |
| **Melli** (Melle), kingdom, 125, 128, 133, 134, 201, 823, 841 | I, 14, 5 W. |
| **Melula** (Mululo) river, a tributary of the Muluia, *Melille*, 532, 540, 931 | VII, 34, 3 W. |
| **Memphis** (Manf), *Manf*, 859, 897, 911 | II, 29, 31 E. |
| **Memun,** *see* Mamun | — |
| **Menebbe** (Manebbi), *Uled Menebba*, a tribe of Deuimansor Arabs, 145, 212 | IV, 31, 9 W. |
| **Menium,** 785; misprint for Memum (*see* Manum) | — |
| **Meramer,** 297, 381 | IV, 32, 8 W. |
| **Merasen,** *see* Beni Merasen | — |
| **Merdez,** a tribe of Zenata, near Bona, 708 | IV, 36, 7 E. |
| **Mergo,** *Zawiya* of *Sidi Mergo*, 500, 621 | VII, 34, 4 W. |
| **Merniza,** mtn., 527, 641 | VII, 34, 4 W. |
| **Meroe,** 29, 32 | I, 16, 33 E. |
| **Mersalcabir,** *see* Marsa | — |
| **Mersalquibir,** same as Marsa Elcabir | — |
| **Mesab** (Meszab), *Mzab*, 127, 790, 811 | IV, 33, 4 E. |
| **Mesellata,** 127, 775, 804 | IV, 32, 14 E. |
| **Mesetazza,** mtn., 558, 655 | IV, 32, 3 W. |
| **Mesgalda,** *see* Beni Mesgalda | — |
| **Mesila** (Masila), *Msila*, 144, 214, 702, 746, 792 | IV, 35, 4 E. |
| **Mesrata** (Mestrata), *Masrata*, 127, 775, 804 | IV, 32, 15 E. |
| **Mesre,** *see* Egypt | — |
| **Mesre atichi,** *see* Misruletic | — |
| **Messa,** *Masa*, 123, 146, 244, 248-50, 341 | V, 30, 9 W. |
| **Mestrata,** *see* Mesrata | — |
| **Meszab,** *see* Mesab | — |
| **Metgara,** *see* Matgara | — |
| **Meth,** *Maid* or *Mehet*, *Somaliland*, 983 | — 10, 47 E. |
| **Mettegia,** *Metija*, 682, 932 | IV, 36, 2 E. |
| **Mezagran,** *see* Mezzagran | — |
| **Mezdaga,** 552, 652 | VII, 33, 4 W. |
| **Mezemme,** *Mzemma*, 520, 638 | VII, 35, 3 W. |
| **Mezgana** (Beni Mosgana of Marmol), 682 | IV, 36, 2 E. |
| **Mezzagran** (Mezagran), *Mazagran*, 677, 695, 932 | IV, 35, 0 E. |
| **Michias,** *el Mikyas*, the Nilometer at Cairo, 879, 911 | II, 29, 31 E. |

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| **Mifrulhetich**, 877; misprint for Misruletic | — |
| **Mina** river, *Wad Mina*, 932 | IV, 35, 0 E. |
| **Misruletic** (Mesre atichi, Fustato), *Masr el Atika*, or Fostat, 858, 877, 906 | III, 29, 31 E. |
| **Mogador**, 338 | V, 31, 9 W. |
| **Mohenemugi**, Mwene Muji, "Lord of the villages", old title of the ruler of *Maravi land*, 60 | — 15S, 34 E. |
| **Mokattam**, mt., *see* El Mucatun | — |
| **Mombasa**, 56, 89 | — 3, 39 E. |
| **Monaster**, *Monastir*, 727, 756 | IV, 35, 10 E. |
| **Monfia**, *Mafia*, 89 | — 7 S., 39 E. |
| **Monomotapa**, the Empire of the *Mwene Mtapa*, to the South of the *Zambezi*, 62, 985, 1060 | —18 S., 32 E. |
| **Moon**, mountains of the, 16, 106, 936 | — |
| **Moores**, tawny, the "White Africans" of the original edition, 130 | — |
| **Morocco**, *see* Marocco | — |
| **Mozambique**, 58, 89 | —14 S., 40 E. |
| **Muallaca** (Muhallaca), a village three miles S. of Old Cairo, and therefore *not Helwan*, 897, 922 | III, 29, 31 E. |
| **Mucatun**, *see* El Mucatun | — |
| **Muhaisira**, *see* Munaisira | — |
| **Muhallaca**, *see* Muallaca | — |
| **Muluia** river, *Muluya*, 931, 393 | VI, 34, 3 W. |
| **Mululu** river, *see* Melulo | — |
| **Muluna**, 931; misprint for Muluia | — |
| **Munaisira** (Muhaisira), 30 m. East (South?) of Cairo, and therefore not *El Masarah*, 898, 922 | I, 29, 31 E. |
| **Munia**, *Minieh*, 898, 923 | I, 28, 30 E. |
| **Munsia**, *El Menshiyeh*, 901, 926 | I, 26, 31 E. |
| **Muslim** (Mussim), *Beni Msellen*, a tribe of Beniamir Arabs, 142, 144, 212 | IV, 35, 4 E. |
| **Musmuda**, a Berber people in Marocco, 130, 131 | IV, 31, 9 W. |
| **Mussim**, *see* Muslim. | — |
| **Mustuganim**, *Mostaganem*, 144, 677, 696, 932 | IV, 35, 0 E. |

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| **Nabel**, *see* Napoli | — |
| **Nafissa**, Sepulchre of St., Cairo; *Sitte Nefise*, 877, 915 | III, 30, 31 E. |
| **Nanfre**, 871, misprint for Nansre (*Nasr*), *see* Babe Nansre | — |
| **Nansre**, *see* Babe Nansre | — |
| **Napoli** (Neapolis, Nabel), *Nabele*; 725, 755 | IV, 36, 10 E. |
| **Narangia**, 502, 622 | VII, 34, 5 W. |
| **Narnia**, *Narni*, near Rome, 680 | — 41, 12 E. |
| **Neapolis**, *see* Napoli | — |
| **Necaus**, *Ngaus*, 702, 746 | IV, 35, 5 E. |
| **Ned Roma**, *Nedroma*, 644, 693 | IV, 35, 1 W. |

| | MAPS. |
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| **Nefifa,** mtn. (Nifiifa). Leo places these mountains to the west of the Sesaua river and the Semede mountains, and they cannot therefore be the mountains at the head of the Niffis (Nifis) river, 256, 275, 362 | v, 30, 9 W. |
| **Nefisa,** 256, misprint for Nefifa | — |
| **Nefresa,** 127, misprint for *Nefzaoa* | — |
| **Nefta,** *Nefta*, 127, 197, 793, 813 | IV, 33, 7 E. |
| **Nefzaoa,** *Nefzaua*, 127, 796, 814 | IV, 33, 9 E. |
| **Negroes,** Land of, *Sudan* ; 124, 127, 818 | I, 15, 0 |
| **Nesreoa,** 127, misprint for *Nefzaoa* | — |
| **Nesta,** 127, misprint for *Nefta* | — |
| **Niffis,** river, *Wad Nifis*, 927 (compare Nefifa) | v, 31, 7 W. |
| **Nifiifa,** 275, *see* Nefifa | — |
| **Niger,** 17, 124, 128, 179, 196, 820, 822. Pory's translation of the passage, p. 124, is very inaccurate. Leo says, in fact : "The Niger rises from a very large lake in the desert of the Seu in the east, and flows westward into the Ocean ; and our Cosmographers assert that it is a branch of the Nile, which flows underground, and on issuing forms the Lake referred to. Others assert that this river rises in some mountains in the West, flows East and forms a lake. Such however, is not the case, for we navigated it with the current from Timbuktu to Ghinea and Melli, which are to the West of Timbuktu." Leo thus evidently held the view that the Niger was the Upper Senegal, and did not anticipate Reichard's hypothesis, as suggested by Dr. Brown (p. 196). His account, moreover, renders his claim to having visited Ghinea and Melli very doubtful | I, 16, 3 W. |
| **Nile,** 17, 31, 935, 863 ; delta, 855 ; floods, 860 | I, 18, 31 E. |
| **Nilometer,** *see* Michias | — |
| **Ninou,** is Nineveh on the Tigris | — 36, 43 E. |
| **Nocor,** river, *Nkur*, 520, 538, 635 | VII, 35, 3 W. |
| **Nubia** (Nube), *Nubia* ; 28, 128, 134, 836, 852, 904, 1052 | I, 20, 33 E. |
| **Nuchaila** (Nucaila), *Nkheila*, 398, 563 | IV, 32, 7 W. |
| **Nufusa,** mtn., *Jebel Nefus ;* 743, 771 | IV, 31, 72 E. |
| **Numidia,** 22, 124, 126, 131, 139 | I, — — |
| **Nun,** region, *Wad Nun* ; 123, 124, 147, 194, 800, 816 | IV, 29, 10 N. |
| **Oea,** 767, now Tripolis, *q.v.* | — |
| **Ofran,** *see* Ifran | — |
| **Omar,** *see* Homar | — |
| **Ommirabi,** *Umm er Rabia*, 283, 290, 393, 928 | IV, 32, 7 W. |
| **Oran** (Horam), *Oran*, 144, 660, 675, 695 | IV, 35, 0 W. |
| **Pearls,** river of, flows past Fez, 930 | VII, 34, 4 W. |
| **Pemba,** 89 | — 5 S., 39 E. |
| **Pennon** (Peñon), 997, opposite Velles de Gumera, *q.v.* | — |

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| **Perzegreg**, 134, *see* Zegreg . . | — |
| **Pescara**, *Biskra*, 127, 197, **792**, 872 . | IV, 34, 5 E. |
| **Pharao, City of**, is identical with Rameses or Pithom, but Leo places it in the *Fayyum*, and near it, Joseph's Sepulchre (comp. Aptun), 858, 906 . . . | I, 29, 30 E. |
| **Pharao's Palace**, *Ksar Faraon*, near ancient Volubilis; 490, 610 . . . . . | VII, 34, 5 W. |
| **Philippeville**, *see* Sucaicada . . . . | — |
| **Picos fragosos**, perhaps the Rocks of *Pungo Ndonga* in *Angola*, 16, 106 . . . . . | — |
| **Pidar**, town on Somali coast, between Zeila and Berbera, 983 | — |
| **Pietra Rossa** (*Dar-el-Hamra*), ruins of Tocolosida, 491, 612 | VIII, 34, 5 W. |
| **Piperis**, Hospital of Sultan, Cairo, 873, 914 . . | III. 30, 31 E. |
| **Prete Gianni** (Prester John), the Emperor of Higher Ethiopia, or *Abyssinia*, 30, 41, 125, 195, 974-85, 1021, 1030. | I, 11, 37 E. |
| **Pyramids**, Egypt, 858, 896 . . . . | II, 29, 31 E. |
| **Quadelabid** (Guadelabid, Habid, Fiume dei Servi, Sernam), *Wad el Abid*, or Slave River, 130, 283, 297, **928** . | IV, 32, 5 W. |
| **Quadres**, mtn., *Jebel Wad Ras*, 515, 634 . . . | VII, 35, 5 W. |
| **Quillimanci**, river, *Tana*, 51 . . . . | — 2 S., 40 E. |
| **Quiloa**, Kilwa, 56, 89 . . . . | — 9 S., 39 E. |
| **Quizama**, *Kisama*, 72 . . . . | — 9 S., 13 E. |
| **Rabat** (Rebat), *Rabat*, **401**, **564-8**, 929 . . . | VII, 34, 9 W. |
| **Racmen**, *Rehamna*, a tribe of Deuihessen Arabs, 142, 147, 212 . . . . . | IV, 29, 7 W. |
| **Rahona** (Raona), mtn., *Jebel Rahona*, 512, 633 . . | VII, 35, 5 W. |
| **Raona**, *see* Rahona . . . . . | — |
| **Rasid**, *see* Rosetta . . . . . | — |
| **Razin**, *see* Beni Razin . . . . | — |
| **Rebat**, *see* Rabat . . . . . | — |
| **Recheda**, *Rakkada*, near Cairoan, 732, **760** . . | IV, 35, 10 E. |
| **Red Sea**, 24, 85 . . . . . | I, 20, 40 E. |
| **Regraga** (Aegraga), tribe in Hea, 247, 340 . . | V, 31, 9 W. |
| **Reteb** (Retebbe), *Reteb*, 148, **782**, 808, 935 . . | IV, 31, 4 W. |
| **Retel**, misprint for Reteb . . . . . | — |
| **Rie** (Riech), *Riah*, a division of the Hilel Arabs, 142, 145, 212, | IV, 35, 8 E. |
| **Riff**, Egypt, *see* Erriff . . . . . | — |
| **Rosetta** (Rasid), *Er Rashid*, 856, **865**, 910 . . | II, 31, 30 E. |
| **Ruche**, *Uled Ruke*, a tribe of Mastar Arabs, 142, 145, 212 . | IV, 31, 5 W. |
| **Saba**, Sabaim, capital of Abyssinia, supposed residence of the Queen of Saba, 30, 978 . . . . . | — |
| **Sabi**, *see* Beni Sabi . . . . . | — |
| **Sablel Marga** (Sahblel Marga), *Sahab el Marga*, 554, 653 . | VI, 33, 4 W. |
| **Saffi**, *see* Azafi . . . . . | |

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| **Sahblel**, *see* Sablel | — |
| **Sahid**, *see* Said | — |
| **Sahidim**, *see* Saidima | — |
| **Said** (Sahid), *Uled Said*, a division of the Cachin Arabs, 142, 143, 211 | I, 31, 5 E.; IV, 36, 10 E. |
| **Said** (Assaid, Sahid), *Said*, Upper Egypt, 856, 857 | I, 27, 30 E. |
| **Said**, *see* Beni Said | — |
| **Saidima** (Sahidim, *Uled Sdima*), *Shedma*, a tribe of Hilel Arabs, 145 | V, 31, 9 W. |
| **St. George** (Georgia, Giorgio), a monastery near *Girgeh*, 901, 925 | I, 26, 31 E. |
| **St. Helena**, 92 | — 16 S., 4 W. |
| **St. Laurence**, *Madagascar*, 999 | — 20 S., 45 E. |
| **St. Thomas**, 93 | — 0 N., 6 E. |
| **San Salvador**, capital of Congo, 73 | — 6 S., 15 E. |
| **Sais**, *see* Seeis | — |
| **Sala**, *see* Sela | — |
| **Salir**, port on Somali Coast, 983 | — 11, 48 E. |
| **Sanagia** (Sanhagia, Zanaga, Zanega, Zenega, Sanhagi), *Sanhaja*, a Berber people in the Western Sahara, 127, 130, 131, 132, 133, 146, 154, 205, 320, 559, 780, 797, 965 | I, 22, 12 W. |
| **Sanhagia**, *see* Sanagia. | — |
| **Sanhaja**, *see* Sanagia | — |
| **Santa Cruz**, 987, *see* Gartguessen | — |
| **Sarman**, *Aserman*, 2, 773, 803 | IV, 32, 12 E. |
| **Sarra**, or **Libya**, *Sahara*, 84, 124, 127 | I. |
| **Schachin**, *see* Cachin | — |
| **Sebta**, *see* Septa | — |
| **Sebu**, *see* Subu | — |
| **Secsiua** (Sesiua), mtn., *Sessaua*, 278, 363 | V, 30, 8 W. |
| **Seffaja**, river (Sessaia, a misprint), *Wad Harrash*, 932 | IV, 36, 3 E. |
| **Sefsaua**, *see* Sesseua | — |
| **Sefsif**, river at Telensin, *Wad Safsaf*, 669, 694 | IV, 34, 1 W. |
| **Segelmessa** (*Sijilmasiyah*), *Medinat ul Amira*, the capital of *Tafilelt*, 126, 127, 145, 197, 728, 759, 780, 782, 784, 806, 807, 935, 991 | IV, 30, 4 W. |
| **Seggheme**, mtn., 320, 391 | IV, 32, 5 W. |
| **Sela** (Sala), *Salá*, 144, 406, 407, 573-80, 929 | VII, 34, 6 W. |
| **Sela**, *Shella*, 403, 518-72 | VII, 34, 6 W. |
| **Sele**, 932; misprint for Selef | — |
| **Selef** (Sele), *Wad Shelif*, 932 | IV, 36, 1 E. |
| **Selelgo** (Selilgo), mtn., 530, 651, 930 | IV, 33, 4 W. |
| **Selilgo**, *see* Selelgo | — |
| **Selim**, *Uled Selim*, a tribe of Mastar Arabs, 142, 146, 212 | IV, 29, 6 W. |
| **Semede** (Semmeda), mtn., 276, 362 | V, 30, 8 W. |
| **Semmeda**, *see* Semede | — |
| **Semmenud**, Samanud, 861 | II, 30, 31 E. |

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| **Sen,** desert 01; misprint for Seu, *q. v.* | — |
| **Senaga,** *Senegal,* 18, 81 | I, 16, 15 W. |
| **Septa** (Sebta), *Ceuta,* 504, 509, 629-31 | VII, 35, 5 W. |
| **Sersel,** *Shershel,* 679, 696 | IV, 36, 2 E. |
| **Serte** (Sert), *Sort,* with *Medinet Sultan,* 801, 817 | IV, 31, 17 E. |
| **Seruam,** 130; a mistranslation of 'fiume dei Servi', *see* Quadelabid | — |
| **Servi,** fiume dei, *see* Quadelabid | — |
| **Sesiua,** *see* Secsiua and Sessaua | — |
| **Sessaia,** 932; misprint for Seffaja | — |
| **Sesseua** (Sessera, Seusaua, Sefsaua), river, *Shishaua,* 257, 276, 277, 349 | V, 31, 8 W. |
| **Set,** 832; apparently a misprint for Seu, and not connected either with Lake Tsade or the Eastern Sahara | — |
| **Setif,** see *Stege* | — |
| **Seusaon** (Seusaon), mtn., *Sheshauen,* 524, 640 | VII, 35, 5 W. |
| **Seusaua,** river, *see* Sesseua | — |
| **Seusaua,** mtn., at source of Seusaua (Sesseua) river, 277, 362 | — |
| **Seu** (Sen, Set and Sin, are misprints), the *So* of *Seu,* the old ruling people in what is now *Bornu,* to the south and west of Lake Tsade (Nachtigal, ii, 444; Barth, *Reise,* ii, 333), 17, 124, 173, 192, 221, 832 | I, 11, 13 E. |
| **Sfax,** *see* Asfacus | — |
| **Shame,** castle of (La Vergogna), 491, 612 | VII, 34, 5 W. |
| **Sierre Leone,** 16, 80 | I, 8, 13 W. |
| **Sifelmel,** *see* Asifelmel | — |
| **Siffaia,** river, 246, 340, is evidently the same as Sesseua, *Shishaua,* and perhaps a misprint | V, 31, 8 W. |
| **Sin, Sinites,** 173, seems to be a misprint for Seu, *q. v.* | — |
| **Sinai,** mount, 897 | I, 28, 34 E. |
| **Sinai,** port of, *Tur* not *Suez,* 879, 915 | I, 28, 34 E. |
| **Sinites,** *see* Sin | — |
| **Sisa,** *Sissa,* near Parma, in Italy, 324 | — 44, 10 E. |
| **Soara** (Azagues of Marmol), *Zuara,* a Berber tribe, dispersed throughout Barbary, 161, 218 | IV, 35, 1 E. |
| **Sobair,** *see* Subeir | — |
| **Socotera,** *Sokotra,* 86, 1051 | — 12, 52 E. |
| **Sofala,** 58 | — 20 S., 34 E. |
| **Soforo,** xii, is *Sfru,* to the south of Fez | — |
| **Sofroi,** *Sfru,* 522, 652 | VII, 34, 4 W. |
| **Stefe,** *Setif,* 702, 746 | IV, 36, 5 E. |
| **Suachin** (Suachen), *Suakin,* 27, 30, 86, 837, 904 | I, 19, 37 E. |
| **Suaid,** *Uled Said,* a tribe of Rie Arabs, 142, 145, 212 | IV, 35, 1 E. |
| **Subeica,** *Sueka,* 774, 772 | IV, 32, 14 E. |
| **Subeir** (Sobair), a tribe of Etegi Arabs, 142, 218 | IV, 34, 1 W. |
| **Subeit,** 290, 375 | IV, 33, 8 W. |
| **Subu** (Sebu) river, *Wad Sebu,* 406, 409, 550, 930 | VII, 34, 6 W. |

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| **Sucaicada**, *Skidda*, the modern *Philippeville*, 704, 748 | IV, 36, 6 E. |
| **Suez**, 25, 29 | I, 29, 32 E. |
| **Sufegmare** (Sufgmare), river at Constantine, now known as *Rummel*, and in its lower course as *Wad-el-Kebir*, 705, 933 | IV, 36, 6 E. |
| **Sufgmare**, *see* Sufegmare | — |
| **Sufien**, a division of the Hilel Arabs, 142, 212 | — |
| **Sugaiila** (Essuoaihila), **785**, 809, 935 | IV, 30, 4 W. |
| **Sultan's Sepulchres**, Cairo, now known as the *Tombs of the Mamluks*, 858, 915 | III, 30, 31 E. |
| **Sumait**, a division of the Cachin Arabs, 142, 143, 211 | IV, 32, 13 E. |
| **Sungai**, *Songhai*, **134**, 209, 821 | I, 16, 3. |
| **Sus**, *Sus*, 125, 131, 136, 147, 245, **248-56**, 987 | V, 30, 9 W. |
| **Sus**, river of, *Wad Sus*, 934 | V, 30, 9 W. |
| **Susa**, *Susa*, 727, 756 | IV, 35, 10 E. |
| **Susegmare**, misprint for Sufegmare | — |
| **Syene**, *Asuan*, 903, 925, comp. Asna and Assuan | I, 24, 32 E. |
| **Syria**, *Soria*, 889, 891 | — |
| **Tabraca**, *Tabarka*, 933 | IV, 36, 83 |
| **Tafilelt**, *see* Segelmessa | — |
| **Tafrata**, desert, *Tafrata*, 540, 647, 931 | VII, 34, 2 W. |
| **Taganot**, *Tagant*, 147 | IV, 29, 9 W. |
| **Taganost**, 147, is a misprint for Taganot, the desert of which, according to the Italian version, is inhabited by the Amr or Hamram, who also levy tribute upon the people of Tagavost | — |
| **Tagauost** (Tagavost), not identified. Rénou suggests a village *Tarabust*, whilst Pacheco (*Esmeraldo*, p. 36) states that Tagavost is within two leagues of Cape Nun, 255, 346 | IV, 29, 9 W.; or 29, 10 W. |
| **Tagheza**, *see* Tegaza | — |
| **Tagia** (Thagia), 401, 572 | IV, 33, 6 W. |
| **Tagiora** (Taiora), *Tajura*, 774, 803 | — II, 43 E. |
| **Tagodast**, 301, 310, 384 | IV, 32, 13 E. |
| **Tagtessa**, 238, 333 | V, 31, 9 W. |
| **Tailon**, *see Geme* Tailon | — |
| **Taijeut**, *see* Teijent | — |
| **Taiora**, *see* Tagiora | — |
| **Tamaracost**, *Tamrakesht*, 781, 808 | IV, 32, 4 W. |
| **Tamaracroft**, 781, misprint for Tamaracost | — |
| **Tangera**, *see* Tangia | — |
| **Tangia** (Tangera, Tingis), *Tanja*, **506**, 513, 627 | VII, 35, 5 W. |
| **Tangiers**, *see* Tangia | — |
| **Tansor**, 501, 621 | VII, 34, 5 W. |
| **Taolacca** (Teolacha), *Tolga*, 127, **793**, 813 | IV, 34, 5 E. |
| **Targa**, *see* Terga | — |

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| **Tarodant**, *Tarudant*, 252, 344, 989 | v, 30, 8 W. |
| **Tasrata**, 931, misprint for Tafrata | — |
| **Tazarot** (Tesrast), 261, 351, 989 | v, 31, 8 W. |
| **Tebecrit**, *Takebrit*, 664, 693 | iv, 34, 9 W. |
| **Tebelbelt** (Tebelbet), *Tabelbalet*, 127, 147, 197, **786**, 813 | iv, 34, 1 W. |
| **Tebessa**, *Tebesse*, **710**, 751, 633 | iv, 35, 8 E. |
| **Tebuhasan** (Tebuasan), 783 | iv, 30, 4 W. |
| **Tecort** (Techort), *see* Tegort | — |
| **Teculet**, 232-3, 328 | v, 31, 8 W. |
| **Teddeles**, *Dellys*, 686, 698 | iv, 36, 3 E |
| **Tedelles**, *see* Tedle | — |
| **Tedgear**, 149, misprint for Tegdemt | — |
| **Tedle** (Tedles, Tedelles), *Tedla*, 125, 142, 149, 215, 292, 297, 311, 389 | iv, 32, 6 W. |
| **Tednest**, 230-2, 327, 989 | v, 31, 8 W |
| **Tedsi**, 30 miles E. of Tarudant, 254, 323, 347 | v, 30, 8 W. |
| **Tefas**, *Tiffesh*, 710. | iv, 36, 7 E |
| **Tefelfelt**, *Wad Filfil*, 418, 584 | vii, 34, 6 W. |
| **Tefesra**, 15 miles E. of Telensin, 672, 695 | — |
| **Tefetne**, *Tefetne*, 243, 337 | v, 31, 9 W. |
| **Teffet**, 126, 147, misprint for Tesset | — |
| **Tefne** (Tefme), river, *Tafna*, 932, 662 | |
| **Tefza**, capital of Tedla, 311, 388. It cannot be *Kasba Tedla*, unless we reject Leo's very detailed description | iv, 35, 1 W.<br>iv, 32, 5 W. |
| **Tegassa**, *Tighissa*, 520, 638 | vii, 35, 4 W. |
| **Tegaza**, salt mine, certainly in the western Sahara, to the north of the route leading from Arguin to Wadan, and in all probability the near *Sabkha Ijil*. Ibn Batuta's Tegaza (Tekadda) lies to the S.W. of Agadez (J. Rodriguez ap. Kunstmann, *Handelsverb. mit Timbuctu*, 187; Pacheco, *Esmeraldo*, 43; Barth, *Reise*, iv, 616), 117, 798, **800**, 816, 829 | i, 22, 12 W. |
| **Tegdemt**, *Takdemt*, 684 | iv, 35, 1 E. |
| **Tegorarin**, *Gurara*, 789, 790, 810 | i, 28, 0 W. |
| **Tegort** (Tecort, Techort), *Tuggurt*, 790, 791, 799, 811 | iv, 33, 6 E. |
| **Teguat** (Tegua, Tuath), *Tuat*, 127, 299 | iv, 17, 0 E. |
| **Teijeut** in Hea (Marmol's Techevit), **236**, 332 | vi, 31, 9 W. |
| **Teijeut** (Teiyeut), on River Sus, and consequently not Tisuit, 250, 343 | v, 30, 9 W. |
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